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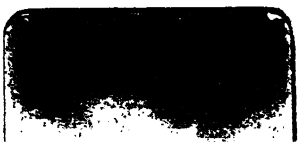
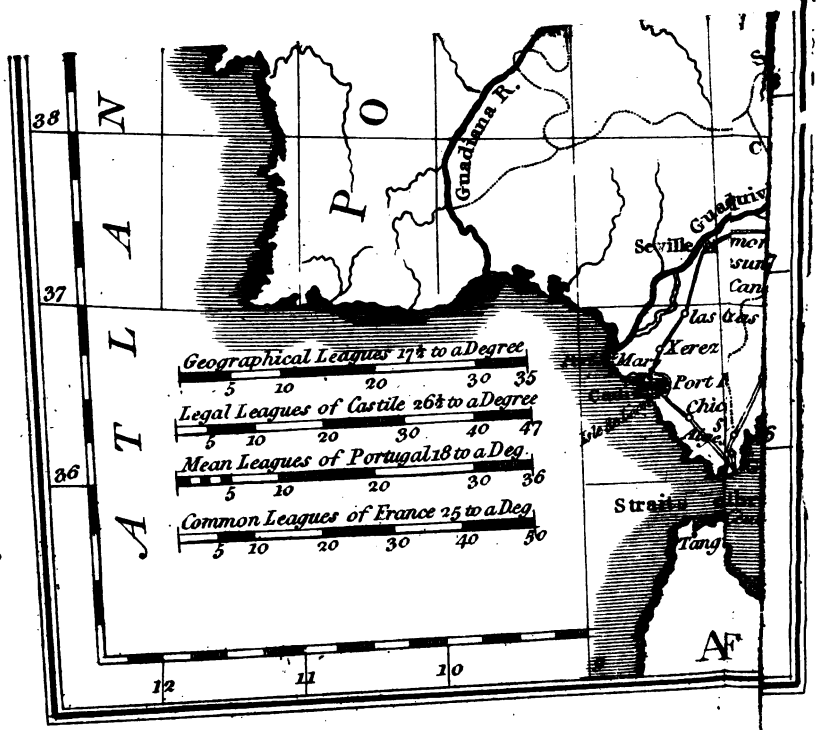


TRAVELS IN SPAIN.

VOLUME I.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TRAVELS IN SPAIN:

CONTAINING

A NEW, ACCURATE, AND COMPREHENSIVE VIEW

OF THE

PRESENT STATE OF THAT COUNTRY.

BY THE

CHEVALIER DE BOURGOANNE.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

COPIOUS EXTRACTS

FROM THE

ESSAYS ON SPAIN

OF

M. PEYRON.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

ILLUSTRATED WITH TWELVE COPPER-PLATES.

VOLUME I.

LONDON:
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ADVERTISEMENT

BY THE

TRANSLATOR.

THOUGH the public is already in poſſeſſion of the remarks of ſeveral travellers on Spain, they none of them can make any pretenſions to preclude the preſent work, the author of which has principally directed his inquiries to a ſubject which, though highly intereſting, perhaps the moſt intereſting of any that can engage the attention of a traveller, has been leſs attended to by former writers on this country; I mean the preſent ſtate of its civil government, trade, and manufactures. The long ſtay of the Chevalier de Bourgoanne in Spain* has enabled him to treat theſe

* The Chevalier, we have been informed, was ſecretary to the French embaſſy at the court of Spain; and reſides at preſent at Hamburgh, as French miniſter to the Circle of Lower Saxony.

ſubjects more at large, and more accurately, than any who have preceded him; not to mention that the accounts here given, independent of their unqueſtionable fidelity, are much the moſt modern.

To render this work ſtill more compleat, an additional volume has been added, conſiſting of very copious extracts from the Eſſays on, or Travels in, Spain, of M. Peyron; a late work of conſiderable merit, which has never yet appeared in Engliſh. Such deſcriptions of places as had already been deſcribed in the preceding volumes, inventories of paintings, the whole, or at leaſt the principal, of which had before been noticed, are, as may be ſuppoſed, omitted. Thus alſo the chapters on the inquiſition, the bull-fights, and the Spaniſh ſheep, are omitted, becauſe they contain little more than what may be found in the work of M. de Bourgoanne. The greateſt part, however, of what is moſt intereſting and novel in the Tra-

vels

vels of M. Peyron is retained; the account of the Alhambra and its inſcriptions, in particular, will be found ſo full and compleat as to be no improper ſupplement to Mr. Swinburn's deſcription of that noble monument of Mooriſh antiquity.

The tranſlator has only to add, that, with reſpect to the performance of his part of what is here preſented to the reader, he aſpires to no other praiſe but that of having rendered the ſenſe of his original with fidelity, and, he flatters himſelf, with perſpicuity. He has indulged himſelf in very few liberties; but has endeavoured to give a juſt copy of the manner, as well as faithfully to preſerve the meaning of his author.

PREFACE.

IF it is difficult, not to ſay impoſſible, for even an impartial hiſtorian always to diſcover the truth, to unravel the complicated details, or clearly to explain the obſcure cauſes of the events he relates, even of thoſe to which he has himſelf been a witneſs; how much more difficult muſt it be for the writer of travels ſufficiently to guard againſt error, or combat prejudice; eſpecially if, as is commonly the caſe, after haſtily traverſing countries entirely unknown to him, he undertakes to give a faithful account of the manners, arts, ſciences, virtues, vices, and a thouſand other phyſical and moral characteriſtics which diſtinguiſh a people of whoſe language he is, perhaps, totally ignorant, or at beſt has but an imperfect knowledge?

Several

Several deſcriptions of Spain have appeared within theſe few years. The Eſſays of M. Peyron, the Travels of Mr. Twiſs, and, eſpecially, thoſe of Mr. Swinburn, certainly contain many intereſting and accurate obſervations; but the author of the following work, who has reſided many years in Spain, while he pays all poſſible reſpect to the abilities of theſe writers, thinks himſelf juſtified in aſſerting that no acuteneſs or penetration can compenſate for the ſhort ſtay they made in a country which can only be known by a long and intimate intercourſe with the various claſſes of its inhabitants, and a perfect acquaintance with their language and manners.

The Spaniſh nation has almoſt conſtantly been treated by the generality of travellers with a ſeverity of cenſure extremely diſpleaſing to all

all thoſe who poſſeſs a real knowledge of its true character. Not that the following work is to be conſidered as either a profeſſed eulogium, or an apology. An eulogium is ever ſuſpicious: we know well that many deductions are always to be made from every thing which appears under ſuch a form: it is frequently only the exaggerated tribute of gratitude, or the mean adulation of ſelf-intereſt. The author, indeed, frankly confeſſes that he has found it neceſſary to be upon his guard againſt the former of theſe motives; but the latter cannot exiſt, as all connexion between him and the country of which he writes has entirely ceaſed. As to an apology, he is well perſuaded that it can never convince prejudice, and that it would be ſuperfluous to readers of underſtanding, whoſe judgment can

can only be influenced by indiſputable facts.

The preſent work, therefore, is not written either indiſcriminately to praiſe, or obſtinately to defend the Spaniſh nation. It muſt not be forgotten, likewiſe, that it was not originally intended for the public eye, though certain reaſons, which it is not neceſſary here to ſpecify, have induced the writer to yield to the ſolicitations of friendſhip. We may therefore, perhaps, the rather expect to find in it impartiality and truth, as far, at leaſt, as it was in the power of the author to diſcover what was truth.

J. Cary Sculp.

1. Isle of Pheasants.
2. Spanish Custom-house.
3. French Custom-house.

FERRY of the BIDASSOA

4. Road from St. Jean de Luz.
5. River Bidasson

THE PRESENT STATE OF SPAIN.

IN the year 1782, I conceived the deſign of making a journey into Spain, a country, concerning which, I had heard ſo many contradictory accounts; which formerly was of ſuch diſtinguiſhed eminence among the powers of Europe, and which ſtill poſſeſſes conſiderable weight in the balance of its various ſtates; a country with which we are but little acquainted, though well deſerving to be better known.

When I paſſed the Bidaſſoa, I determined to leave my private as well as national prejudices, with all my indeterminate ideas of the people I was about to viſit on the bank, and endeavoured to forget, as much as poſſible, every thing I had heard or read concerning Spain, ſo that on my arriving at Irun, the firſt Spaniſh town, my mind, with reſpect to all I had read or heard concerning this country, might have been compared to the *roſa tabula* of the ſchoolmen.

My intention is to give a plain relation, devoid of acrimony or enthuſiaſm, of every thing of which I ſtill preſerve the impreſſion. Inſtead of taking poſt-horſes from Bayonne to Orogne, which is five leagues diſtant from the former, and two from the frontiers, I exchanged my carriage, as moſt travellers do, for a vehicle not very elegant, called, by the Spaniards, *Coche de Colleras*, and which, till we are uſed to it, excites many alarming apprehenſions. This carriage is rather ſtrong than commodious, and drawn by ſix mules, to which the voice

voice of the conductors ſerves either as a ſpur or bridle. On ſeeing them faſtened to each other as well as to the ſhafts, with ſimple cords, and their ſtraggling manner of going, as if without any kind of guidance, in the crooked, uneven, and frequently unbeaten roads of Spain, the traveller imagines himſelf entirely abandoned to the care of Providence; but on the appearance of the leaſt danger, a ſingle word from the chief muleteer, who is called *Mayoral*, is ſufficient to govern and direct theſe docile animals. If their ardor abates, the *Zagal*, who is his poſtillion, jumps from the ſhafts, where he is ſtationed as a centinel, animates them with his voice and whip, runs for ſome time by their ſide, and then returns to his poſt, where he remains until called forth by the ſame or ſome ſimilar circumſtance to repeat his ſervices. This vigilance of the two conductors ſoon relieves the traveller from his fears, who, notwithſtanding, remains aſtoniſhed that more accidents do not happen from ſo awkward a manner of travelling. He reconciles

himſelf, however, more eaſily to this than to the Spaniſh inns. Their inconveniencies have, perhaps, been exaggerated, as it generally happens when ill-humour guides the pen; but the truth is, that they are in general without any good accommodation; travellers are badly lodged and ſerved; and thoſe who wiſh for a tolerable repaſt, muſt themſelves ſolicit the aid of the butcher, baker, and grocer. In this reſpect, however, there has, within theſe few years, been a change for the better. I have met with ſome tolerable inns, eſpecially in the principal cities. The preſent miniſter, who extends his beneficent attention to every thing which can benefit the kingdom, is at this moment forming a plan for the improvement of inns in general, and its completion is impatiently expected. To carry ſuch a plan into effect, will be more difficult in Spain than in any other nation, becauſe the abuſes to be reformed proceed from the manners, cuſtoms, prejudices, and, in ſome meaſure, from the conſtitution of the country. Theſe obſta-

cles

cles are not of ſuch a magnitude as to abate the zeal of the Count de Florida Blanca; they will only render his ſucceſs more honourable. The execution of his plan was for ſome years retarded by the war, but he now means to conſecrate the leiſure and ſavings of peace to the accompliſhment of his purpoſe.

Theſe few remarks upon inns will certainly be ſufficient. I will not fatigue the reader with obſervations upon ſo beaten a ſubject.

I was familiarized to my perilous equipage by the time I arrived at the frontier of the two kingdoms. The boundary of theſe is the Bidaſſoa, a river famous in the political hiſtory of Louis XIV. from the iſland which it forms at a ſmall diſtance to the right of the place where the river is paſſed, and called the Iſland of Pheaſants. The important interview between Cardinal Mazarin and Don Louis de Haro, occaſioned it to receive the name of the Iſland of Conference. It is not a

quarter of a league in circumference, is entirely uninhabited, and almoſt barren; it owes its fame, like many perſons of moderate talents, to a fortunate circumſtance.

As ſoon as the traveller has paſſed this iſland, he finds himſelf in Spain. Some of my enthuſiaſtic countrymen will tell you, that the moment they ſet their feet on the other ſide of the river, the horizon and ſoil are changed; that they breathe another air, and feel the influence of a foreign climate. Forgive them the idle fancy; Nature, which ſports with our geographical diviſions, when they are marked by great rivers, or even by arms of the ſea, preſerves, notwithſtanding the change of denomination, a ſtriking ſimilitude between the two oppoſite banks; it would be the ſame thing to her did the rivulet of Bidaſſoa divide the meadow of a private individual. The banks reſemble each other; if the traveller remove from them a few leagues on either ſide, he will, whether he be a Frenchman or not, prefer the diſtrict which leads

leads him from Bayonne to that which conducts him to it. The difference alſo between the laſt roads of France and thoſe at the entrance of Spain, is in favour of the latter. The roads of Biſcay may be ſaid to be among the fineſt in Europe. Few countries laboured, in this reſpect, under greater difficulties. Biſcay, which joins the Pyrenees, ſeems to be an extenſive continuation of theſe mountains to the borders of Caſtile. In tracing a road there were conſiderable deſcents to diminiſh, precipices to avoid, and high ſummits to turn with addreſs. Such ground required all the art which can be diſplayed in the conſtruction of roads. The three provinces (*Guipuſcoa*, *Vizcaya*, and *Alava*) of which Biſcay is compoſed, and which, with reſpect to their private concerns, form three diſtinct little ſtates, joined their efforts to accompliſh this end, as is uſual with them when their common intereſt is in queſtion: Nature has not been prodigal to them in her gifts. Guipuſcoa, and Vizcaya are unprovided with corn, and are ſupplied with it by

Alava, which with that only reſource is almoſt as well peopled as the other two. The three provinces of Biſcay are the aſylum of liberty and induſtry, and this is the great cauſe of their common proſperity; for what miracles may not be wrought by theſe two ſiſters who uſually go hand in hand? In croſſing Biſcay, we perceive that their preſence has given animation to every object; nothing can be more delightful than the hills; nothing more chearful than the cultivated valleys. For thirty leagues, the diſtance between the Bidaſſoa and Vittoria, not a quarter of an hour paſſes but the traveller diſcovers ſome village or hamlet. The towns of Villafranca, Villareal and Mondragon; have the air of independence and plenty. What a difference in the aſpect of this country and that of the neighbouring province! I am far from wiſhing to throw ridicule on the Caſtilians, whoſe virtues I eſteem; but they are ſilent and melancholy; they bear in their auſtere and ſallow viſages the marks of laſſitude and poverty. The Biſcayans have a dif-

a different complexion, and quite another air of countenance and character. Free, lively, and hoſpitable; they ſeem to enjoy their happineſs, and wiſh to communicate it to thoſe who come among them. I ſhall long remember what happened to us at Villafranca. We arrived there early, the weather was fine, and we wandered on the outſide of the town, amuſing ourſelves with obſerving the varieties of its cultivation. Several groups of peaſants in different parts of the orchards engaged our attention; we alſo excited theirs. A moment of mutual curioſity cauſed us to approach each other. My travelling companion ſpoke Spaniſh with great facility; he knew, as well as myſelf, that that language bore no reſemblance to that of the Biſcayans; but we could not imagine that in a province ſo long ſubjected to Spain, the language of the ſovereign was unknown: and that it was neceſſary to have recourſe to the primitive tongue. We gave theſe good people to underſtand that we wiſhed to taſte their fruit. They immediately ſtrove who ſhould be the

firſt to oblige us; our hands were ſoon filled, and we were ſtrongly ſolicited to fill our pockets alſo. Some of the peaſants went to procure us fowl and freſh eggs; we had great difficulty in preventing them from being offended at our refuſal, and regretted we had no other interpreter than our looks and geſtures. We were obliged, at laſt, to leave them; but as we had rambled without directing our ſteps to any particular place, and were unable, without a guide, to find the way back to our inn, our benefactors now cauſed us ſome embarraſſment, as each wiſhed to become our guide. Thoſe whoſe ſervices were not accepted, kept, for a long time, their eyes fixed upon us. They could not but eaſily diſcover that we were ſurprized at their hoſpitality. We left them ſome marks of our acknowledgment, which they received in ſuch a manner as proved to us the diſintereſtedneſs of the reception we had met with. We ſeemed to quit thoſe amiable natives of the South-ſea iſlands, whom Meſſrs. Cook and Bougainville have taught us to love,

love, and yet we were not twenty leagues from Bayonne.

Theſe Biſcayans, who are ſo different in their language and appearance from the Caſtilians, are not leſs ſo in the conſtitution of their country. Their province is conſidered, in many reſpects, as beyond the Spaniſh frontiers. Except a few reſtrictions, all merchandize enters, and is never examined but at the interior limits. The province has other privileges of which the people are very jealous, but ſo precarious a poſſeſſion is liberty, that theſe have recently been more than once attacked. The moſt moderate government ſuffers with regret the ſhackles with which liberty confines its authority. If the king be in want of a certain number of ſoldiers or ſailors, he notifies his wiſhes to the province, and the people find the moſt eaſy means of furniſhing their contingency. The taxes which they pay have the name and form of free gifts (*donativo*) The monarch, by his miniſter of finances, requires a certain ſum, the demand is diſcuſſed

cuſſed by the ſtates, and, as it may be imagined, is always acquieſced in. They then levy the ſum upon the different cities and communities, according to a regiſter, which, like that of the *tailles* in France, ſuffers frequent modifications. There is one advantage derived from this mode of levying; the impoſt being paid from the city grants, individuals are not expoſed either to ſeizure or conſtraint. It therefore ſeems, in the firſt point of view, that Biſcay taxes itſelf; and, for want of the reality, the inhabitants cheriſh this ſhadow, to which, for ſome years paſt, they have made real ſacrifices. The free commerce of Spaniſh America might be extended to their ports, if the Biſcayans would allow the neceſſary duties to be there paid; but they look upon cuſtom-houſe officers as the creatures of deſpotiſm, and their jealouſy rejects the proffered benefits of the ſovereign. They can make no commercial expedition to America, without preparing for it in a neighbouring port, and the moſt induſtrious people of Spain, the moſt experienced in navigation,

gation, and the beſt ſituated for ſuch a commerce, ſacrifice a part of theſe advantages to that of preſerving ſome ſmall remains of liberty. Thus, before the war which gave independence to Britiſh America, all the inhabitants of one of the provinces engaged themſelves, by an oath, not to eat lamb, in order to increaſe the growth of wool, with the intention of rendering uſeleſs the manufactures of the mother country.

In fact, the Biſcayans have had from the beginning of the preſent century an advantage over the Spaniards, relative to the commerce of America. The company of Caracas, known alſo by the name of that of Guipuſcoa, had warehouſes upon the coaſt, and made voyages from one of their ports; but this company has lately been unfortunate, on which account government has determined to relieve it from a burden, which from circumſtances became highly inconvenient. Exempted therefore from contributing to the expences of government, its commerce may be renewed

newed with the colony of Caracas, without having reaſon to fear, for many years, thoſe competitors who have been permited the ſame liberty of traffic.

Biſcay is remarkable for its roads, cultivation, and privileges, but more particularly for the induſtry of its inhabitants. This is chiefly exerciſed upon iron, the principal production of the province. In order to improve this manufacture, the Biſcayans have recourſe to foreign correſpondence, public lectures, and travelling. At Bergara there is a patriotic ſchool, where metallurgy is taught by the moſt able profeſſors. Students in chymiſtry have been ſent to Sweden and Germany, where they have acquired, as well in the bowels of the earth as in the ſhops of manufacturers, ſuch knowledge as has already been profitable to their country; for this word is not a vain ſound in Biſcay. The inhabitants, ſeparated by their ſituation, language, and privileges, weak as they are, and confined within narrow limits, are called by Nature

ture and Policy to feel the ſpirit of patriotiſm, and are obedient to the call. This noble ſentiment produced the ſchool of Bergara, where the nobility of the country are brought up at the expence of the ſtates; and, not long ago, the ſame patriotiſm has given new employment to the induſtry of the Biſcayans by digging the port of Deva.

There are ſeveral other ſuch harbours upon their coaſts, which merit the traveller's attention. Bilboa, the capital of Biſcay, properly ſo called, has one where commerce is in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate, and whence an intercourſe is maintained with France, Holland, and England. I did not viſit this city, it being too far from the great road from Bayonne to Madrid, but I made a little circuit to go to two other nearer ports. I left the great road at Arnani, to croſs by a fine road the mountains which ſeparate it from the ſea. From their tops is ſeen the little city of St. Sebaſtian, which is joined to the Continent by a narrow neck of low land. The port, if an arti-

artificial harbour can be ſo called, is very narrow, and adapted, by moles, for fifteen or twenty veſſels, which are there placed as in ſo many drawers. It is ſheltered by an eminence, on which the ruins of an old caſtle are diſcovered. From St. Sebaſtian I kept along the ſea coaſt, travelling over mountains that ſurround a bay called the *Port of the Paſſage*, and which reſembles rather a great pond than a gulph of the ocean. As ſoon as I arrived at the inner confines, I was beſet by a troop of female Biſcayans, who ſpoke to me with ſome vehemence, without my underſtanding a word of what they uttered. I was for ſome time embarraſſed to diſcover the intention of this ſeeming banditti; and muſt confeſs, that had not a little ſhame prevented me, I ſhould have ſhewn ſome marks of fear. They ſoon, however, became more calm, and by ſome words, almoſt French, I underſtood that theſe rivals diſputed with each other the good fortune of carrying me over to the other ſide of the harbour. I recovered from my alarm, and threw the apple

apple to the prettieſt of the women. It was not an apple of diſcord; ſhe who had obtained the preference, modeſtly enjoyed her triumph, without ſo much as exciting envy. Notwithſtanding the preſence of my amiable boat-woman, the ſpace I had to croſs appeared to be about half a league; at length I arrived at the little town of the Paſſage, built in the very narrow ſpace between the mountains and the harbour; and climbed up to the caſtle, which commands its narrow entrance. From this caſtle there is, on one ſide, a view of the ſpacious baſon, and, on the other, of the open ſea.

It is from the Port of the Paſſage that the company of Guipuſcoa fits out veſſels for the coaſt of Caracas. After having admired the ſingular form of this harbour, one of the largeſt and, perhaps, the ſafeſt in Europe, I returned to St. Sebaſtian, and again entered the road to Vittoria.

This city, the capital of the province of Alava, one of the three of Biſcay, is ſeen as we deſcend from the mountains;

it ſtands in the middle of a well cultivated plain, abounding in villages; the town is ill built, and the ſtreets badly contrived; it, however, exhibits the appearance of activity and induſtry. As I paſſed through it, I obſerved a ſquare newly begun, which at my return was compleatly finiſhed. Each ſide contains nineteen arcades, and one of the fronts of which is that of the town or manſion-houſe. The pillars are of the Tuſcan order. This edifice, notwithſtanding ſome defects, would be an ornament to a city more conſiderable than that of Vittoria: the plan was not given by a foreign architect, but by M. Olarvide, a native of Vittoria. There is a pleaſure in ſeeing a citizen dedicate his talents to the embelliſhment of his native country, in which he has improved them. This is no leſs natural than pleaſing; why therefore ſhould it be thought extraordinary?

Five leagues beyond the Vittoria, the Ebro, which divides the town of Miranda into two unequal parts, the principal of which is that on the left bank, makes its appearance. This river is one of thoſe ob-

objects aggrandized by the magic colours of hiſtory, and is found much inferior to the reputation it has acquired. It is true that at Miranda it is near its ſource, which is at the feet of the mountains of the kingdom of Leon; but although it formerly ſerved as a boundary to the conqueſts of Charlemagne, it has not hitherto been made navigable. It remains for the preſent firſt miniſter to realize a project, the execution of which would, as it is preſumed, give new life to Navarre, Arragon, and Catalonia. In the year 1785, the famous canal of Arragon began to juſtify the hopes which had been entertained of it ſince the reign of Charles V. Some ſmall veſſels from Tudela arrived at Saragoſſa, where they were received with the moſt lively demonſtrations of joy and gratitude.

Don Ramon Pignatelli did not think he derogated from the dignity of an eccleſiaſtic, nor from that of his illuſtrious birth, in devoting his ſtudies to the ſervice of his country. He preſides over this

undertaking, which, when accompliſhed, will open a new conveyance to the productions of Arragon, one of the provinces of Spain, the moſt favoured by Nature, and yet one of the leaſt productive relatively to its extent. Two canals, that of Tauſte and the Imperial Canal, both of which begin in Navarre, and have the ſame depth of water, run in various windings through Arragon, and by turns recede from or approach the Ebro, till they, at length, fall into it. Theſe ſtreams are the ſources of induſtry to all the diſtricts through which they flow, and render their fields fertile by their fructifying waters. The country of Arragon is already planted with thouſands of olive and other trees. The cities and towns which formerly were condemned to drought and ſcarcity, are now ſupplied with fiſh and water from theſe canals. The rivers which from the north of Navarre and Arragon, formerly emptied their waters into the Ebro, will contribute to the flouriſhing condition of the countries they have hitherto uſeleſsly watered, as ſoon

as

as the Ebro can receive the merchandize they bring. This undertaking has been effected by labours, which deſerve no leſs admiration than that excited by the wonders of the canal of Languedoc. Beſides the dykes, banks, and ſluices, with the larger and ſmaller bridges, which the two canals in their courſe rendered neceſſary; there has been conſtructed in the vally of Riojalon an aqueduct ſeven hundred and ten fathoms in length, and ſeventeen feet thick at the baſe, in which the little river runs.

Let us now quit the banks of the Ebro, and enter Caſtile; for we have not yet reached its ſpacious plains. On leaving Miranda, I diſcovered the rocks of *Pancorvo*, which have a moſt pictureſque appearance, and have already exerciſed the pencil of ſeveral travellers. The village of Pancorvo, three leagues from Miranda, is buried, if I may ſo ſay, among the rocks. They ſcarcely leave a narrow paſſage for the great road, which is overſhaded by their threatening ſummits. Five

leagues farther on, we paſs through the ſmall city of Bribieſca, encloſed by a wall which has four gates, placed at equal diſtances. The inhabitants are not opulent, but appear to be active. On leaving Bribieſca to go to Burgos, we meet with two ſteep hills; and here to quiet our fears, it is neceſſary to have an unlimited confidence in the docility and ſure-footedneſs of the mules, and the care of their drivers. Near Burgos the road becomes tolerable. This city, the capital of old Caſtile, is very agreeably ſituated; the greateſt part of it is on the right of the Arlançon, over which there are three bridges. That river deſcribes an arch of a circle round Burgos, and on the other ſide is a hill, upon which there ſtill remain ſome ruins of an old fort. The Arlançon embelliſhes and fertiliſes all the environs; it renders flouriſhing the plantations which ſerve as public walks, waters the verdant meadows, and waſhes the walls of two remarkable edifices, ſituated below the city; the firſt is the monaſtery *de las Huelgas*, a convent of nuns, the abbeſs of which has conſiderable privileges; the

the other is the *Hopital del Rey*, the Royal or King's Hoſpital, remarkable for the extreme cleanlineſs preſerved in it, and the healthineſs of its ſituation. The moſt poliſhed nations might take example from the Spaniards with reſpect to theſe charitable foundations. A cruel prejudice has not yet made them fear that the wretched ſhould there find themſelves ſufficiently comforted to ſee, without repugnance, this aſylum open to their miſery.

There is nothing remarkable in Burgos except its cathedral, one of the moſt magnificent and the beſt preſerved of the ancient Gothic edifices. The traveller is not a little ſurprized at finding in one of the chapels a picture by Michael Angelo Buonarotti, repreſenting the Virgin dreſſing the infant Jeſus, who is ſtanding upon a table. The noble air which Michael Angelo gave to his figures is very obſervable in theſe, as is alſo the ſtrength and correctneſs of deſign, to which he frequently ſacrificed grace. The cathedral is at the extremity of the city, almoſt oppoſite

poſite to one of the three bridges over the Arlançon. On the other ſide of the ſame bridge is a ſuburb, where, as throughout the kingdom of Spain, is a miraculous image known by the name of *Santo Chriſto de Burgos*. It is kept in a dark chapel, perfumed with incenſe, and full of *ex voto*'s and ſilver lamps, and into which perſons are introduced in a manner ſo myſterious, as to have ſomething awful even to thoſe who are no ways inclined to ſuperſtition. As ſoon as the curious are within the chapel, and on their knees, the wax tapers of the altar, on which the crucifix ſtands, are lighted. The crucifix is concealed behind three curtains, that are drawn one after the other with a ſtudied ſlowneſs, which ſtill adds to the religious ſolemnity. Simple people believe that its beard grows. Devotees attribute to it many miracles, but impartial eyes can diſcover in it nothing extraordinary.

The Arlançon again preſents itſelf to view on leaving Burgos, and is ſcarcely ever loſt ſight of in any part of the road to

to Villadrigo; a very agreeable village, to the right of the river, at the bottom of a vaſt plain, tolerably cultivated, and leſs deſtitute of trees than the reſt of Caſtile.

We next perceive the Piſuerga, a little river which runs from north to ſouth, and the waters of which it was intended ſhould be made to ſupply the canal of Caſtile, projected and begun in the preceding reign. This project was afterwards almoſt abandoned, to the great prejudice of old Caſtile, which only waits for ſuch an opening for the ſale and increaſe of its productions. The canal was to begin at Segovia, and following the courſe of the Ereſma, which falls into the Duero, to be continued as far north as Reynoſa, receiving from the little rivers, in its paſſage, the tribute of their waters. Reynoſa is but twenty leagues from Saint-Ander, a ſea-port, where all the merchandize exported from old Caſtile is ſhipped. A road, which will be deſtroyed before the canal is finiſhed, has

has been made to facilitate a communication by land.

Continuing our way along the banks of the Piſuerga, which has led me into this digreſſion, and after having paſſed two ſteep hills, the feet of which are waſhed by the river, we arrive at *Quintana de la Puente*, near to a bridge of eighteen arches, and *Torquemada*, one of the moſt dirty and wretched towns in Spain. The Piſuerga is again to be croſſed here over a bridge of twenty-ſix arches, and which has lately been almoſt wholly rebuilt. Were it not for this river, the banks of which are extremely pleaſant, and embelliſhed at ſmall diſtances by groups of trees, nothing could be more dull and leſs varied than the road from Villadrigo to Duennas. Before we arrive at the latter town, which ſtands upon rather a ſteep hill, by the ſide of the Piſuerga, which in this place receives the river of Carrion; we ſee on the left the great monaſtery of St. Iſidro, and on the ſide oppoſite, a new road, begun in 1784, by the governor of

of Palencia, whoſe reſidence is but two leagues from Duennas. It was made at the expence of the neighbouring communities, and may ſerve as a model in any country. This, like many other modern works, proves that in Spain, as well as other countries, a love for the public good, and an active diſpoſition, may undertake any thing for general utility, provided the means employed to effect it be not oppreſſive,

From the hills of Duennas, the country is quite flat and naked to Valladolid, a conſiderable city, ſituated near the Piſuerga, and on the banks of the Eſquava, a ſmall river, upon which are eſtabliſhed a few waſhing places for the wool of the neighbouring country. Valladolid is well peopled, and ſeems lively enough, eſpecially at the fair which is held towards the end of September, but the ſtreets are ſo dirty as to be diſguſting both to the ſight and ſmell; people however may, no doubt, accuſtom themſelves to this inconvenience as well as to many others.

Several

Several of the churches of Valladolid, thoſe eſpecially of the Dominicans and of *San Benito*, are elegant, agreeable to the Spaniſh taſte, that is handſome and full of altars richly gilt. They moreover contain ſome tombs of white marble, admirably ſculptured. The ſculptures, as well in coloured wood as in marble, in detached groups or bas relief, may be traced back to the revival of the arts in Spain; an epocha which produced Juan de Juni, Berruguete, Becerra, and others, who would do honour to more enlightened ages.

The cathedral of Valladolid engaged my attention. This, even towards the end of the year 1785, was but an enormous maſs of dark-coloured ſtone, without the leaſt ornament. The pilaſters round the nave are of the Doric order, the proportions of which are obſerved with the greateſt accuracy. The cathedral may in time be embelliſhed by art, but it will be impoſſible to remove a ſtriking defect, which is that on entering, a high wall behind

behind the choir is the firſt object that preſents itſelf to view, and hides the reſt of the church. I was ſtill more aſtoniſhed at not finding in Valladolid, a great city, the reſidence of a biſhop and chapter, the ſeat of an univerſity, one of the ſix great colleges of the kingdom, and one of the two ſupreme tribunals of Spain, any ſuch thing as a map or chart to be ſold, nor a ſingle copy of Don Quixot. But in amends, there are convents in great plenty. At one end of Valladolid is an enormous ſquare, called the *Campo-Grande*, from which are ſeen thirteen others.

Valladolid is not wholly without manufactures, ſome ſtuffs and courſe cloths are made there from the wool of the ſheep which are kept in the neighbourhood. There are alſo gold and ſilverſmiths, and one ſtreet is entirely inhabited by jewellers. This is very lively and full of buſineſs, as are all the others which terminate in the great ſquare.

Olmedo,

Olmedo is ſeparated from Valladolid by eight leagues of ſandy ſoil. In all this diſtance there is no other verdure to be ſeen than that of a dull foreſt of pines, at firſt to the left of the road which afterwards paſſes through it. Valdeſtillas is half way, and a league farther on we paſs the Duero over a handſome bridge, to the right of which there are ſome houſes under ground, and detached vaults, in which the wine made in that part of the country is kept.

Olmedo is ſeated upon an eminence, in the middle of a plain, which appears almoſt unbounded on every ſide, except to the north-eaſt, in which direction are ſeen ſome barren hills. This city, which was formerly ſtrong, is ſtill partly encloſed by thick walls three quarters of a league in extent. It has very few inhabitants or manufactures, and its whole internal appearance announces its decay. I will mention but one cauſe which will alſo be a proof of its preſent ruinous condition. There are ſtill ſeven pariſhes and as many con-

convents. A few bricks are made in or near the town, and the inhabitants feed hogs and turkeys. There are ſome vineyards in the neighbourhood, and a few kitchen gardens under the ancient walls. Theſe conſtitute all the riches of Olmedo.

Segovia is eleven leagues from Olmedo. The country round this city is the moſt barren, poor and depopulated part of all Caſtile. We paſs through ſome towns, ſuch as *Santa Maria de Nieva*, and Giuſti, and perceive the turrets of the caſtle of Segovia and the ſteeple of the cathedral at a conſiderable diſtance. The traveller ſuffers much from impatience before he arrives at this city; he has ſeveral circuits to make with many painful and tedious efforts before he has climbed, as it were, up to the ſquare of Segovia.

As he approaches, he ſees to the right an old caſtle, built upon the ſummit of a ſteep rock; and to the left, a valley watered by a little river from which it receives its verdure. His imagination is by turns exalted

alted and delighted. He forgets the parched and barren country he has paſſed through, and of which he will find a continuation on leaving Segovia, becauſe he is wholly intent on the fine proſpects by which he is ſurrounded.

Let us now enter this city which formerly was famous on ſeveral accounts, and notwithſtanding its dirtineſs, and the ſmall number of its inhabitants, is ſtill not unworthy the attention of the traveller. Its principal edifices are the cathedral and the caſtle or Alcazar.

The cathedral is a mixture of the gothic and mooriſh architecture. The inſide is very ſpacious and of majeſtic ſimplicity. The windows are well diſpoſed, and the great altar has been lately decorated with the fineſt Grenadian marble. It is to be regretted that in this cathedral, as well as in moſt others of Spain, the choir is placed in the middle of the nave.

The

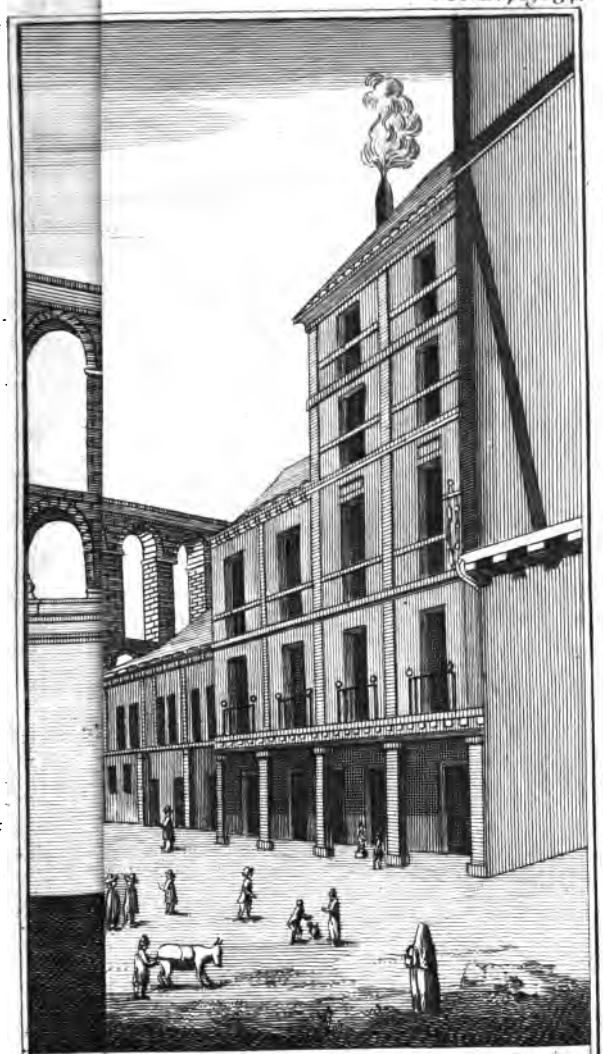
The Alcazar of Segovia, formerly the reſidence of the Gothic kings, is a well preſerved edifice. Within theſe few years a military ſchool has been eſtabliſhed in it, for young gentlemen intended for the artillery. Their education in every particular does the greateſt honour to the perſon who preſides over it, the Count de Lacy, inſpector general of the department.

The Alcazar was for a long time made uſe of as a priſon for the crews of the barbary corſairs who fell into the hands of the Spaniards. It was impoſſible to ſee, without compaſſion, thoſe robuſt Moors, condemned to a painful idleneſs, and devoting themſelves to ſedentary employments. They were however never treated with rigour, and the court of Spain has reſtored them to their country ſince the Spaniſh monarch has formed connexions with the Emperor.

But nothing is more worthy the attention of curioſity at Segovia, than the

aqueduct which the ſingular ſituation of the city renders neceſſary. Segovia is built upon two hills, and the valley by which they are ſeparated; it beſides extends conſiderably in every direction.

This poſition made it very difficult for a part of the citizens to be ſupplied with water. The difficulty was removed, according to the learned, in the reign of Trajan, by an aqueduct, which until this day is one of the moſt aſtoniſhing, and the beſt preſerved, of the Roman works. It begins on a level with the rivulet it receives, and is, at firſt, ſupported by a ſingle line of arches three feet high; it runs by a gentle aſcent to the ſummit of a hill on the other ſide of the city, and appears to become more elevated in proportion as the ground over which it is extended declines. At its higheſt part is has the appearance of a bridge boldly thrown over a prodigious abyſs. It has two branches which form an obtuſe angle, relatively to the city. It is at this angle



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gle that it becomes really awful. Two rows of arches riſe majeſtically one above the other, and the ſpectator feels ſome impreſſion of fear in comparing their ſlender baſe with their amazing height. Its ſolidity, which has braved upwards of ſixteen centuries, ſeems inexplicable on cloſely obſerving the ſimplicity of its conſtruction. It is compoſed of ſquare ſtones, placed one upon another, without any exterior appearance of cement, though we cannot now be certain whether they were really united without this aid, by being cut and placed with peculiar art, or whether the cement has been deſtroyed by time. It is with regret we ſee wretched houſes reared againſt the pillars of the arcades, ſeeking in theſe durable ruins, a ſupport for their weakneſs; and, in return for this benefit, degrading a monument which even time has reſpected; but theſe ſcarcely riſe to a third of the height of the aqueduct, and ſerve, at leaſt, to give an appearance of a greater projection to

its aweful maſs. A ſmall ill-built convent has been erected behind the angle which forms the two branches. But what nation has not been guilty of like profanations? Let thoſe of my countrymen, whoſe indignation may be excited by this, remember the amphitheatre at Nîmes.

It is needleſs to obſerve that the houſes near which this beneficent aqueduct paſſes, lay it under contribution on paying a certain duty, and that it was of the greateſt utility to the houſes, formerly much more numerous than at preſent, in which the wools of Segovia were waſhed and dyed.

The wools, however, have loſt nothing of their goodneſs. The beſt in Spain are thoſe of the diſtricts of Segovia, thoſe of the country of Buytrago, ſeven or eight leagues eaſt of Segovia, thoſe of Pedraza to the north; and towards the Douro, thoſe of Avilla and Leon. The accounts which I received in Spain during

during the eighteen years I reſided in that kingdom, enabled me to form a judgment of Spaniſh wool. I ſhall only preſent my reader with the moſt intereſting reſults of my enquiries.

In the firſt place, it is an almoſt univerſal opinion, although combated by ſeveral well informed perſons, that the wools of Spain do not ſo much owe their fineneſs and quality to the temperature of the climate or the nature of the ſoil on which the ſheep are bred, as the cuſtom of driving the flocks to different parts of the country. Two obſervations, well ſupported, will, perhaps, be ſufficient to invalidate this opinion. The firſt is, that in Eſtramadura there are flocks of ſheep which are never driven to any other place, yet there is no ſenſible difference between their wool and that of thoſe which are almoſt conſtantly in motion; the ſecond is, that even in the environs of Segovia, there are ſmall flocks which are never driven thence, and

their wool is as fine as that of thoſe which are. I have been aſſured by the people of this diſtrict, that of the twenty arrobes of fine wool grown there, near a third was produced by the ſtationary flocks. Whence therefore is derived the cuſtom, ſo troubleſome in various reſpects, of driving ſeveral millions of ſheep all over Spain*? From that which cauſes, propagates and eſtabliſhes abuſes, from the private intereſt of the great, which, in Spain, gave birth to the ruinous privileges of the Meſta. This is a company of great proprietors

* In the ſixteenth century the travelling ſheep were eſtimated at ſeven millions: under Philip the Third, the number was diminiſhed to two millions and a half. Uſtariz, who wrote at the beginning of this century, made it amount to four millions. The general opinion is, that at preſent it does not exceed five millions. If to this number the eight millions of ſtationary ſheep be added, it will make nearly thirteen million of animals, all managed contrary to the true intereſts of Spain, for the advantage of a few individuals. For the proprietors of ſtationary flocks alſo have privileges, which greatly reſemble thoſe of the members of the Meſta.

of

of flocks, compoſed of rich religious communities, grandees of Spain, and opulent individuals, who find their account in feeding their ſheep at the expence of the public in every ſeaſon of the year, and who, by impolitic laws and regulations, have given ſanction to a cuſtom which neceſſity firſt eſtabliſhed.

The mountains of Soria and Segovia, condemned to ſterility by the climate, ſoil, and the ſteepneſs of their ſides, were formerly the aſylum of ſome neighbouring flocks. At the approach of winter the place was no longer tenable. The ſheep ſought, in the circumjacent plains, more temperate air. Their maſters ſoon changed this permiſſion into a right, and united themſelves by an aſſociation. This company in time became augmented by the addition of others, who, having acquired flocks, were deſirous of enjoying the ſame privileges. The theatre was extended in proportion as the actors became more

numerous, and, by degrees, the periodical excurſions of the flocks were extended to the plains of Eſtramadura, where the climate was more temperate and paſturage in plenty.

When the abuſe began to appear intolerable, it had already taken deep root, and affected the intereſt of the moſt powerful citizens. The conſequence is, that for more than a century, there has been a continued ſtruggle between the company of the Meſta on one part, and the lovers of public good on the other. If a traveller paſſes through Spain in the month of October, when the ſheep *traſhumantes* *, arrive in great numbers in and about the plains of Eſtramadura and Andaluſia; or in the month of May, when they return towards the mountains of old Caſtile; let him be informed that theſe animals have the right of paſturage on every common in their way, that the laws annex a breadth

* The Spaniſh name for the travelling ſheep.

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of ninety varas* to the road by which they paſs; that the paſtures which are reſerved for them in Eſtramadura are rented at a very moderate rate, and that the proprietors have for a long time vainly ſolicited an augmentation of price; and if he be a Frenchman and pretend to the leaſt philoſophy, he will not fail to exclaim againſt ſuch abſurdities and barbarous ignorance, forgetting that in his own country, a Spaniſh traveller would have reaſon to be ſtill more ſurpriſed at the multiplicity of our cuſtoms, at the ſtrange and complex adminiſtration of our finances, and at the ſhameful inequality which ſubſiſts between the taxes and privileges of two neighbouring provinces, one of which pays an enormous price for ſalt, at the ſame time that the other obtains it at a very trifling expence.

* The Spaniſh *vara* is to the ell of France as 5 to 7; ninety *varas* therefore make about forty toiſes or fathoms.

The

The Spaniard would exclaim, from his poſt-chaiſe, What little progreſs has this vain and trifling nation made in the art of government! Why are not the laws, weights and meaſures the ſame in every part of the kingdom? Why do not its miniſters eſtabliſh a general and equal impoſt; which might ſo eaſily be effected? A ſingle word from them would be ſufficient. On the other hand, the Frenchman would aſk, Why the too great number of ſheep was not diminiſhed, or at leaſt circumſcribed within more narrow bounds? Alas! my dear fellow-citizen, fatigue not your imagination in ſeeking the means of delivering our allies from the ill conſequences of this error. Well informed people of that nation (for of ſuch there are many, notwithſtanding what you may ſay or think to the contrary) have conſidered this ſubject before you. Read what has lately been written upon it by the Count de Campomanes, Don Antonio Ponz, and before them by Arriquibar, Lernela, Uſtariz, and the laughing philoſopher Cervantes,

Cervantes; who, under the veil of pleaſantry, has given ſuch wiſe leſſons to mankind, and more eſpecially to his fellow-citizens. But that which to you appears ſo eaſy to eradicate is connected with many circumſtances with which you are unacquainted. Without repeating what we have ſaid concerning the influence of perſons of wealth and power, who in every country have at all times been the greateſt obſtacles to uſeful reforms, let us conſider the reaſon why the feeding of ſheep is preferred to agriculture. Within the laſt hundred years the value of wool has doubled, whilſt grain, the cultivation of which requires ſo much labour and is ſo precarious, has ſcarcely riſen at all in price. Ten thouſand head of ſheep produce *communibus annis*, two thouſand arrobes or five hundred weight of wool: If we eſtimate the arrobe of wool at a hundred rials, or twenty-five livres, theſe ten thouſand ſheep will produce fifty thouſand livres, (above two thouſand pounds) from which, indeed the expence of feeding, that of travelling, the rent of

their

their winter paſtures, ſhepherds wages, and other trifling expences, muſt be deducted, but which leaves a neat produce ſufficiently conſiderable to render this kind of property very valuable. With reſpect to the cuſtom of making the ſheep travel, it muſt be obſerved, that beſides its being ſanctioned by the laws, and having acquired by long cuſtom the nature of a property, ſeveral circumſtances conſpire not only to excuſe it, but even, perhaps, to render it neceſſary. The number of ſheep muſt be diminiſhed, or ſome of them muſt wander. Thoſe which during the fine ſeaſon of the year, feed upon the mountains of Segovia, Soria, Cuenca and Buytrago, would in winter periſh with hunger; and where can a better aſylum be found for them than in Eſtramadura, a province badly peopled, not rich, and where paſturage is the only reſource?

How would it be poſſible beſides to perſuade the proprietors of flocks voluntarily to renounce a property eaſily managed, and

and of which the almoſt certain produce finds an inexhauſtible market in manufacturing countries, where the wools of Spain are ſo eagerly bought up? It muſt however be allowed that the Spaniards might ſtill reap greater advantage from this commerce. The French, Dutch, and Engliſh go to Bilboa and Saint Ander in ſearch of the wools of Segovia and Leon. They do not even leave to the natives the commiſſion upon the ſales. They purchaſe the wool from the ſhepherds, and get it waſhed at their own expence. Of a million of arrobes *, which Spain annually gathers of fine wool, more than five hundred thouſand are exported waſhed, and a leſſer quantity in the greaſe. The duties upon this exportation, which it has not hitherto been thought proper to limit, are cal-

* The arrobe is twenty-five pounds. The middle price of the beſt wools is from twenty-three to twenty-four livres (20s.) the arrobe in the greaſe, upon which a duty of five livres ten ſols (4s. 7d.) is paid on exportation. The waſhed arrobe pays double the ſum.

culated

culated at about five millions of livres (about two hundred thouſand pounds) another reaſon for not haſtily endeavouring to remedy the abuſes complained of by the patriots. Such a reſource is not too eaſily to be abandoned, without having an equivalent at hand. But the government is uſing means to render the exportation of wool more profitable to the revenue, and to employ a greater quantity of it in the country. All common wools, of which the exportation is prohibited, are, and have for ſome time been, worked up in Spain to cloath the ſoldiers and lower claſſes of people.

Fine wools are alſo made into cloth in ſeveral places, but no where better than at Guadalaxara, the manufactures of which I viſited towards the end of the year 1783. I obſerved with ſome ſurprize that the art of manufacturing wool had in ſeveral reſpects made a conſiderable progreſs. I ſay with ſurpriſe, becauſe I had ſo often heard it aſſerted, that the Spaniards underſtood nothing of the matter;

ter; that they knew neither how to card, ſpin, weave, dye, mill nor calendar; that their cloths were of a bad texture and wore very badly; and that the price was exorbitant. How many prejudices of the ſame nature vaniſh upon impartial and careful examination! I ſhall ſtate but one fact to prove, that what is ſaid of the bad quality of the cloths of Spain is not univerſally true, and that the Spaniards are in a fair way of wiping off all ſimilar reproaches. I was ſhewn at Guadalaxara pieces of ſcarlet cloth, which for colour and quality, appeared to me worthy to be compared to the beſt cloths of Julien. Theſe are worth thirty-nine livres (1 l. 12s. 6d.) an ell in the town where they are made, and according to the tarif in the manufacture of Guadalaxara, I obſerved that the price of the fineſt ſcarlet was no more than from thirty to thirty one livres (25s. to 25s. 10d.) an ell. On comparing other articles of the tarif, the ſame difference appeared between the price of Spaniſh cloths and thoſe of France, but to the advan-

advantage of the former. What appears more ſurpriſing is, that the manufactures for the king's account were regulated with but little oeconomy, and that of Guadalaxara with ſtill leſs. Since I was there ſome alteration has been made, which will improve the operations, and be the means of reducing the price of the productions. This, however, was one of the moſt complete manufactories any where to be met with; it contained, within a ſmall ſpace, all the inſtruments and machines neceſſary for making cloth, except the thin ſmooth paſte-board which is put between the folds of a piece of cloth before it goes into the preſs; this was imported from England, the reſt was the production of the place, not even excepting the ſhears with which cloths are ſhorn. There were eighty looms for the cloths of the firſt quality, properly called cloths of *San Fernando*, from the place where they were firſt manufactured; a hundred for thoſe of the ſecond quality, and five hundred and ſix for ſerges, with which the Spaniards hope

hope to do in time without thoſe of England *. Theſe looms, contained in two buildings, employed three thouſand eight hundred and twenty-five perſons, all paid by the king †, beſides near forty thouſand diſperſed over the countries of Mancha and the Caſtiles, who ſpun the wool intended to be manufactured at Guadalaxara. The oeconomical adminiſtration excepted, I am of opinion that it would be difficult to find a manufacture better eſtabliſhed. The city, wherein it is carried on, forms a ſtriking contraſt with thoſe in the neighbourhood. I ſaw not one beggar or idle perſon among the fifteen or ſixteen thouſand inhabitants it contains. Such is the advantage of manufactures, and eſpecially thoſe of cloth;

* It was calculated at the time here referred to, that Spain annually paid to England two millions ſterling for woollen articles alone.

† His catholic majeſty furniſhed from his treaſury, for the ſupport of this manufactory, a hundred and fifty thouſand livres a month; an exorbitant ſum, which poſſibly might not be returned by the ſale of the cloths.

that they afford many trifling employments of which children and the aged and infirm are capable. Theſe are aids which the arts offer to weak or ſuffering humanity, to thoſe whom nature ſeemed to have condemned to inutility and a burdenſome languor. We muſt, however relate the whole truth; the Spaniards in general confeſs themſelves inferior in the arts of dying and milling their cloths; but as they poſſeſs the firſt materials, as well for manufacturing as for dying, a few perſons ſkilled in theſe two arts would be ſufficient to carry ſeveral of their manufactures to the greateſt perfection, and the preſent government neglects no means to procure them.

Guadalaxara is alſo the only place in Spain where the famous cloths of Vigonia are made; a valuable commodity which the reſt of the globe muſt envy Spaniſh America *. As this kind of cloth

* The wool is obtained from the province of Buenos-

cloth is not yet much in uſe, the manufacture of it is not regularly continued. It is difficult even to procure a few ells of it, without having given for them a previous order of ſome months. Some of this cloth alſo is made for the king of Spain, who makes preſents of it to different ſovereigns. In 1782, his majeſty ſent twenty pieces to the grand ſeignior, immediately after the treaty which he had juſt concluded with the Port. They were very well received; and it was ſaid, on this occaſion, that Spain would not be ſorry to give the Turks an inclination for their cloths. Manufacturing nations were a little alarmed at this, but perhaps without much reaſon. The Spaniſh government is too wiſe to undertake to rival theſe nations in ſuch a commerce, until it is enabled, from its manufactures, to ſupply the twenty millions of ſubjects in its own dominions. Spain knows how far ſhe yet is from

Buenos-Ayres and from Peru; that of the firſt is longer, but the other is more ſilky.

ſuch a ſtate of proſperity. The manufactory of Guadalaxara finds in that of Briſſuega, at four leagues diſtance, a kind of aſſiſtant. The latter contains a hundred looms, all employed in weaving cloths of the firſt quality.

Segovia, which has ever been famous for the goodneſs of its wool, was formerly not leſs ſo for the number and perfection of its manufactures. It is fallen from its ancient ſplendour to a degree afflicting to every friend of his country. In 1785, the number of looms did not exceed two hundred and fifty.

The moſt conſiderable of its manufactories was that of Ortiz, eſtabliſhed in 1779, under the name of The Royal Manufactory; the king allows a certain ſum to be employed in it. Ortiz furniſhed employment, in 1785, for three thouſand perſons in Segovia and the environs, and had ſixty-three looms at work, in which cloths of every quality, from pieces, which according to the ordinances, contain

tain two thouſand threads, to thoſe of four thouſand, were manufactured. The idleneſs of the inhabitants of that city was the only obſtacle to an induſtry which might otherwiſe have been conſiderable, the privileges by which the miniſter wiſhed to encourage the firſt undertakings are not burthenſome to the reſt of the manufacturers. They all ſell in competition at a price by no means exorbitant. The deareſt cloths in the month of September, 1785, coſt no more than ninety rials a vara, which is nearly thirty-one livres ten ſols (26s. 3d.) an ell.

Ideas may be formed of every thing relative to the Spaniſh ſheep and their precious ſpoils, without going far from Segovia.

It is in the neighbouring mountains that a part of the wandering ſheep feed during the fine ſeaſon. They leave them in the month of October, paſs over thoſe which ſeparate the two Caſtiles, croſs New Caſtile and diſperſe themſelves in

the plains of Eſtramadura and Andaluſia. For ſome years paſt thoſe of the two Caſtiles, which are within reach of the Sierra-Morena, go thither to paſs the winter; which, in that part of Spain, is more mild: the length of their day's journey is in proportion to the paſture they meet with. They travel in flocks from a thouſand to twelve hundred in number, under the conduct of two ſhepherds; one of whom is called the *Mayoral*, the other the *Zagal*. When arrived at the place of their deſtination, they are diſtributed in the paſtures previouſly aſſigned them. They return in the month of April; and whether it be habit or natural inſtinct that draws them towards the climate, which at this ſeaſon becomes moſt proper for them, the inquietude which they manifeſt might, in caſe of need, ſerve as an almanack to their conductors.

While on their return, in the month of May, they are ſhorn, an operation of conſiderable magnitude in Spain, be-

cauſe

cauſe there it is performed in great buildings contrived ſo as to receive whole flocks of forty, fifty and ſometimes ſixty thouſand ſheep *. The harveſt and vintage in corn and wine countries are not ſeaſons of greater feſtivity. The ſheep-ſheering is a time of rejoicing, both to the owner and workmen. The latter are divided into claſſes, each of which has its diſtinct employment. A hundred and twenty-five workmen are neceſſary to every thouſand ſheep. Each ſheep produces four ſorts of wool, more or leſs fine according to the part from whence it is taken. In the neighbourhood of Se-

* Each flock, belonging to one proprietor, is called a *cavana*, which is pronounced *cavanya*; they take the name of their proprietors. The moſt numerous *cavanas* are thoſe of Bejar and Negretti, each of which conſiſt of ſixty thouſand ſheep. In that of the Eſcurial, one of the moſt famous, there are fifty thouſand. Prejudice or cuſtom gives a preference to the wool of one cavana to that of another. Thus, for inſtance, no wools, except thoſe of the *cavanas* of Nigretti, the Eſcurial and Paular, are made uſe of at Guadalaxara.

govia there are ſeveral ſhearing houſes (*Eſquileos*). One of the moſt remarkable is that of Iturvieta.

When the ſhearing is finiſhed, the wool is made up in bags and ſent to the ſea ports, where it is ſhipped without any other preparation, or to the waſhing or ſcowering places in different parts of Caſtile. There are ſeveral in the diſtrict of Segovia. I particularly examined one of the moſt conſiderable, that of Ortijoſa, three leagues from St. Ildefonſo. I was there convinced that this operation, imperfect as it appears at firſt ſight, becauſe foreign manufacturers repeat it before they make uſe of the wool, ſufficiently anſwers the intention, which is to preſerve the wool, ſo that it ſhall not be poſſible for the longeſt voyage to alter its quality.

All the wool uſed in the royal manufactory of Guadalaxara is ſcowered in this quarter. The quantity annually ſcowered here is about forty thouſand arrobes

arrobes (or five hundred ton) which by this operation is reduced to the half. The ſituation could not have been better choſen; it is very ſpacious, and forms a kind of baſon, the inner diviſions of which are meadows, on an eaſy declivity, which terminate in a common center, and are open to the rays of the ſun in every direction.

The wool is carried thither in the ſtate it was when taken from the ſheep; each fleece is as it was firſt made up. In this form it is given to the *Apartadores*, who divide it into three heaps of different qualtities. They are ſo accuſtomed to this buſineſs, which requires a long apprenticeſhip, that they can tell, at firſt ſight, from what part of the animal each flock of wool has been taken. Theſe three ſorts thus ſeparated are extended upon wooden hurdles, where they are ſpread, beaten and cleanſed from the duſt and dirt adhering to them; they are afterwards taken to the waſhing place.

As

As ſoon as the water in the great copper is on the point of boiling, it is let out by two great ſpigots that open or ſhut certain pipes by which it is conveyed into three ſquare wells, lined with hewn ſtone, and about three or four feet deep. The hot water falls upon a bed of wool, which covers the bottom of the well. The wool thus diſpoſed is turned in every direction by three men. Each ſort of wool is waſhed ſeparately; and, according to its fineneſs, requires the water to be more or leſs heated.

After this firſt operation, the wool is again ſpread upon hurdles, to drain off the water, and with it the filth, which it has begun to diſſolve. The coarſe locks are alſo ſeparated from the reſt, and ſold for the benefit of the ſouls in purgatory; for, in Spain, religion is connected with every thing. The Spaniards mean to ſanctify by this aſſociation, frequently not a little ridiculous, their occupations, riches, and even their plea-

pleaſures. The motive, however chimerical, is amiable; the deſign, commendable. Pity it is that as much cannot be ſaid of the means. But let us return to our ſubject.

The hurdles upon which the wool is ſpread out, are placed in an interval of three or four feet, which ſeparates the ſtone-wells from the narrow aqueduct, alſo of ſtone, through which runs a ſtream of cold water. A man placed at the entrance of the aqueduct receives the wool, and throws it in; while five men, who ſtand by the ſide below the firſt man, preſs and rub it with their feet as it paſſes, and ſend it from one to the other. Still lower down are other workmen who ſtop it in its paſſage, and throw it on a ſtone ſlope, where it drains, while the water runs off into a gutter contrived below the ſlope. A net, placed at the extremity of the little aqueduct, retains the locks, which, from time to time, are carried away by the rapidity of the current.

When

When the wool is well drained, it is ſpread upon the declivity of the meadows which we have before-mentioned, and four fine ſunny days are ſcarcely ſufficient to dry it thoroughly. When it is quite dry it is put into bags to be carried away. Initial letters upon the bags indicate the ſort of wool contained in each; and, beſides theſe, there is a mark which diſtinguiſhes the flock by which it was furniſhed; ſo that a connoiſſeur, who ſaw the bags, would ſay, that is fine or ſuperfine wool of the Eſcurial, Negretti, or Bejar flocks.

I make no apology for theſe details; they may furniſh our proprietors of ſheep with uſeful knowledge, as well as give hints to our manufacturers of the uſe to be made of our wools, or at leaſt inſpire them with emulation, and indicate to them the means of improvement. They may moreover ſerve, in many reſpects, to vindicate the Spaniards from the charge of idleneſs and ignorance, which has ſo frequently been brought

brought againſt them. Conſequently I merely pay a tribute due to juſtice.

I ſhall now leave Segovia and its environs, and conduct my reader to the caſtle of St. Ildefonſo, which is only two leagues from it. The high mountains which command it are ſeen at a great diſtance, and ſcarcely has the traveller quitted Segovia before he diſcovers the caſtle itſelf, which the riſing or ſinking of the road, from time to time, conceals or diſcovers. Appearances by no means announce the reſidence of a great court. The country is barren, and a few wretched hamlets, at ſmall diſtances, give no idea of the enlivening preſence of the monarch. Nor would it be ſuſpected, that in that ſpacious and naked horizon, there were manufactures of various kinds, ſuch as of paper, cloth, and glaſs, or that the environs of St. Ildefonſo were decorated with rivulets, cultivated fields, meadows, and clumps of green oaks; nor, after having ſeen all theſe, is it poſſible to conceive that

that the reſult ſhould be ſo poor and diſmal. This muſt firſt be attributed to the nature of the ſoil and the ſituation of that part of Caſtile, ſurrounded by mountains, and without roads, canals, or navigable rivers. But it muſt be more particularly aſcribed to the numerous herds of deer which live in peace in this diſtrict, and never have their repoſe diſturbed by the royal huntſmen who paſs there about three months in the year, and appear more diſpoſed to preſerve than to deſtroy them.

The country, however, becomes more beautiful as we approach St. Ildefonſo; a number of rivulets meander through the freſh verdure, and the deer wander in herds in the copſes, or bound upon the hills in a ſecurity which could not be expected in thoſe timid animals; the tops of a few handſome houſes appear above the green oaks; and the group, formed by the caſtle and the adjoining edifices, crowned by mountains, ſome naked, others covered to their ſum-

ſummits with trees and ſhrubs, preſents a very pleaſing proſpect. At length we arrive at the gate fronting the royal reſidence, and which is ſeparated from it by a ſpacious court in form of a glacis.

The whole bears ſome reſemblance to Verſailles, which, although imperfect, cannot but be pleaſing to a Frenchman. He, at firſt, imagines that Philip V, who built St. Ildefonſo, wiſhed to have about his perſon ſuch objects as might recall to his recollection the abode which was ſo dear to him in his early youth. He ſeems to have had the ſame intention in eſtabliſhing his military houſhold.

Of the old guards of the kings of Spain there remains but one company of halbardiers, which may be compared to that of the hundred Swiſs. Philip V, eſtabliſhed three companies of body guards, each of two hundred men, modelled, with reſpect to form and cloathing, after thoſe of the French court.

Two

Two regiments, which guard the exterior of the caſtle, that of the Spaniſh guards, and the regiment of Walloons, are alſo perfect copies of our regiments of French and Swiſs guards. A company is detached from each of them to do duty wherever the court reſides.

The command of each of theſe ſix military corps which form the interior and exterior guard of the kings of Spain, is given to the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons of the nation. The commander of the halbardiers is always a grandee of Spain. The captain of the Spaniſh company of body guards is one of the moſt illuſtrious families. That of the Italian company is generally an Italian nobleman, and the captain of the Flemiſh corps is either a noble Fleming, or ſome ſtranger of rank. The ſame rule is obſerved with reſpect to the Walloons. The captain of the Spaniſh guards is always choſen from the moſt diſtinguiſhed grandees of Spain.

This reſemblance to our court, obſerved at St. Ildefonſo, which makes a Frenchman recollect Verſailles, is like a diminutive ſhade in painting, and ſmooths the paſſage from one court to the other, ſo that when arrived at St. Ildefonſo, you are tempted to believe that you are but half the diſtance by which they are ſeparated.

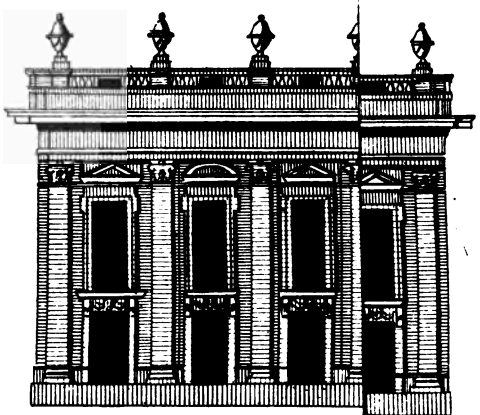
The proofs of the predilection which Philip V. had for this place of royal reſidence have ſurvived him. His remains are depoſited in a chapel within the caſtle. I viſited this mauſoleum, which has ſomething awful in its ſimplicity.

The appearance of the tomb which contains an illuſtrious perſon, always excites ſerious reflection. What then muſt be the impreſſion made by that of a prince, whoſe reign holds ſo diſtinguiſhed a place in modern hiſtory, and forms the epocha of the laſt exploits of Louis XIV, and of his greateſt

diſaſters; of a prince for whoſe intereſts Europe was agitated by three wars within leſs than half a century; and whom the conqueſt of the greateſt monarchy in the world could not render happy. At leaſt the gloomy melancholy which obſcured the laſt years of his life, proved that the moſt brilliant ſucceſſes of ambition are ever followed by ſatiety and languor. What a ſubject for philoſophical reflections upon the vanity of human greatneſs!

After having indulged my mind with theſe at the foot of the tomb of Philip, I went to viſit the enchanting abode which he prepared for himſelf in the midſt of a ſolitary wood, and in the boſom of ſteep mountains. There is nothing magnificent in the palace, particularly in its exterior appearance. The front on the ſide of the garden is of the Corinthian order, and not deſtitute of elegance. Here are the king's apartments, which look upon a parterre ſurrounded with vaſes and marble ſta-

tues



PALACE

tues, and a caſcade which, for the richneſs of its decorations, may be compared with the fineſt of the kind.

The purity and clearneſs of the water is indeed incomparable. Philip V, could not, in this reſpect, be better ſerved by nature. From the mountains which ſhade the palace, deſcend ſeveral rivulets, which ſupply the reſervoirs. Theſe waters anſwer the double purpoſe of ſupplying numerous fountains, and of diffuſing life and verdure through the magnificent gardens, the ſight of which alone is a ſufficient recompenſe for a journey into Spain. They are on the inſide a league in circumference. The inequality of the ground affords every moment new points of view. The principal alleys anſwer to different ſummits of neighbouring mountains; and one in particular produces the moſt agreeable effect. It is terminated at one end by the grand front of the palace. From this point are ſeen, at one view, five fountains, ornamented with elegant

groups, riſing into an amphitheatre, above which appear the ſummits of lofty mountains. The moſt elevated of theſe groups is that of Andromeda faſtened to a rock. When ſeen at a little diſtance it is perhaps defective, becauſe the rock appears too diminutive by the ſide of the monſter which threatens Andromeda; and of Perſeus, by whom it is attacked; but the whole contributes to the beauty of the view. The moſt remarkable of the five groups is that of Neptune.

Genius preſided at the compoſition and in the choice of the ſituation; the deity of the ocean appears erect, ſurrounded by his marine court. His attitude, his threatening countenance, and the manner of holding his trident, announce that he has juſt impoſed ſilence on the mutinous waves; and the calm which reigns in the baſon, defended from every wind by the triple wall of verdure, by which it is ſurrounded, ſeem to indicate that he has not iſſued his com-

commands in vain. Often have I ſeated myſelf, with Virgil in my hand, by the ſide of this ſilent water, under the ſhade of the verdant foliage, nor ever did I fail to recollect the famous *Quos Ego!*

There are other fountains worthy of the attention of the curious; ſuch as that of Latona, where the limpid ſheaves, ſome perpendicularly, and others in every direction, fall from the hoarſe throats of the Lycian peaſants, half transformed into frogs, and ſpouting them forth in ſuch abundance, that the ſtatue of the Goddeſs diſappears under the wide mantle of liquid cryſtal; that alſo of Diana in the bath, ſurrounded by her nymphs; in the twinkling of an eye all the chaſte court is hidden beneath the waters; the ſpectator imagines he hears the whiſtling of aquatic birds, and the roaring of lions from the place whence this momentary deluge eſcapes by a hundred canals. The fountain of Fame is formed by a ſingle

jet-d'eau, which riſes a hundred and thirty feet, exhibiting to the diſtance of ſeveral leagues round the triumph of art over nature, and falls in a gentle ſhower upon the gazing ſpectators. There are ſome ſituations in the gardens of St. Ildefonſo, whence the eye takes in the whole of the greater part of theſe fountains, and where the ear is delighted with the harmony of their murmurs. The traveller who wiſhes to charm all his ſenſes at once, muſt take his ſtation on the high flat ground in front of the king's apartment. In the thick part of the foliage are contrived two large arbours, from the top of which are ſeen twenty cryſtal columns riſing into the air to the height of the ſurrounding trees, mixing their reſplendent whiteneſs with the verdure of the foliage, uniting their confuſed noiſe to the ruſtling of the branches, and refreſhing and embalming the air; if the traveller here experience no pleaſing ſenſations, let him return home, he is utterly incapable of

of feeling either the beauties of art or nature.

The reader may here imagine my enthuſiaſm too extravagant. He is miſtaken; let him follow me to the great reſervoir of abundant and limpid waters. He will have to climb for ſome minutes, but will not regret the trouble he has taken. Let us ſuppoſe ourſelves arrived at the long and narrow alley which takes up the whole of the upper part of the gardens; proceed to the middle, and turn your face toward the caſtle. To the vaſt horizon around you, no other boundaries are diſcovered but thoſe which limit the human ſight; theſe alone prevent you from diſcovering the Pyrenees. Obſerve the ſteeple which ſeems but a point in the immenſe extent: you will perhaps imagine it to be that of the pariſh church of St. Ildefonſo; but, in reality, it is the cathedral of Segovia, at two leagues diſtance. The gardens, through which you have paſſed, become narrower to the eye. You

ſuppoſe yourſelf cloſe to the royal habitation; the alleys, fountains, and parterres have all diſappeared; you ſee but one road which, in the form of a veſſel, upon the prow of which you ſeem to ſtand, has its ſtern on the top of the palace. Afterward turn and take a view of the little lake behind you, of which the irregular borders do not, like what we call our Engliſh gardens, merely ape the diſorder of Nature. Nature herſelf has traced them, except on the ſide where you ſtand. This ſtraight alley is united at each end to the curve which ſurrounds the reſervoir. The waters, which ſtream in abundance from the ſides of the mountain in front, meet in this reſervoir, and thence deſcend by a thouſand inviſible tubes, to other reſervoirs, whence they are ſpouted in columns or ſheets upon the flowery ſoil to which they were ſtrangers. The birds, drawn by their clearneſs, come to ſkim and agitate their cryſtal. The image of the tufted woods which ſurround them is reflected from their immoveable

moveable ſurface, as is alſo that of ſome ſimple and rural houſes, thrown, as by accident, into this delightful picture, which Lorrain would have imitated, but, perhaps, could not have imagined. The oppoſite bank is obſcured by thick ſhades. Some hollows overſhadowed by arching trees, ſeem to be the aſylums of the Naiades. Diſturb them not by indiſcreet loquacity, but ſilently admire and meditate.

It is impoſſible, however, not to go to the ſource of theſe waters; let us follow the meandring of their courſe, and obſerve the winding paths which there terminate, after appearing and diſappearing at intervals through the copſe. Let us liſten to the bubbling of the rivulets which, from time to time, eſcape from our ſight, and haſten to the rendezvous aſſigned them by the deſcendants of Louis XIV. They formerly loſt themſelves in the valleys, where they quenched the thirſt of the humble inhabitants, but are now conſecrated to the

the pleaſures of kings. Aſcending the back of the pyramidical mountain, behind which their ſource is concealed, we arrive at the wall which confines a part of them in the garden, and which was hidden by the trees; nothing however, ought here to recall to mind, excluſive property and ſlavery. Woods, waters, and the majeſtic ſolitude of mountains, which are at a diſtance from the tumult of courts and cities, are the property of every man.

Beyond this wall, which forms the exterior encloſure of the gardens, is an empty and flat ground, where the infant Don Louis brother to the king, choſe a place which he conſecrated to cultivation. Farther on the mountain becomes more ſteep, and is covered with trees to its ſummit. Let us now return; as we ſeek amuſement and not fatigue. We will follow the courſe of the waters, they deſcend in bubbling ſtreams from one level of the gardens to the other. In their courſe, in one place they

they water the feet of the trees, in others they croſs an alley to nouriſh more ſlowly the plants of a parterre. From the baſon of Andromeda they run between two rows of trees in the form of a canal, the too ſudden inclination of which is taken off by caſcades and windings. They receive and carry with them from the gardens the rivulets, which, after having played amongſt the gods and nymphs, and moiſtened the throats of the ſwans, tritons and lions, humbly deſcend under ground, and run on into the boſom of the neighbouring meadows, where they fulfill purpoſes leſs brilliant but more uſeful.

We muſt not quit theſe magnificent gardens without ſtopping at a place which appears to promiſe much but produces not any very great effect. This is the ſquare of the eight allies, *Plaça de las ocho calles*. In the center is the group of Pandora, the only one which is of whitened ſtone, all the others are of white marble or lead painted of a bronze colour.

colour. Eight alleys anſwer to this center, and each is terminated by a fountain. Plats of verdure fill up the intervals between the alleys, and each has an altar under a portico of white marble by the ſide of a baſon ſacred to ſome god or goddeſs. Theſe eight altars, placed at equal diſtances and decorated, among other jets-d'eau, have two which riſe in the form of tapers on each ſide of their divinities. This cold regularity diſpleaſed Philip V. who a little before his death, when viſiting the gardens, made ſome ſevere reproaches to the inventor upon the ſubject. Philip had not the pleaſure of completely enjoying what he had created; death ſurpriſed him when the works he had begun were but half finiſhed. The undertaking was however the moſt expenſive one of his reign. The finances of Spain, ſo deranged under the princes of the houſe of Auſtria, thanks to the wiſe calculations of Orry, to the ſubſidies of France, and ſtill more to the courageous efforts of the faithful Caſtilians, would have been ſufficient

ſufficient for three long and ruinous wars, and for all the operations of a monarchy which Philip V. had conquered and formed anew, as well as to have reſiſted the ſhocks of ambition and polilical intrigue; but they ſunk beneath the expenſive efforts of magnificence.

It is ſingular that the caſtle and gardens of St. Ildefonſo ſhould have coſt about forty-five millions of piaſtres, preciſely the ſum in which Philip died indebted. This enormous expence will appear credible when it is known that the ſituation of the royal palace was at the beginning of this century the ſloping top of a pile of rocks; that it was neceſſary to dig and hew out the ſtones, and in ſeveral places to level the rock; to cut out of its ſides a paſſage for a hundred different canals, to carry vegitative earth to every place in which it was intended to ſubſtitute cultivation for ſterility, and to work a mine to clear a paſſage to the roots of the numerous trees which are there planted. All theſe efforts

efforts were crowned with ſucceſs. In the orchards, kitchen gardens and parterres there are but few flowers, eſpaliers or plants which do not thrive; but the trees naturally of a loſty growth, and which conſequently muſt ſtrike their roots deep into the earth, already prove the inſufficiency of art when it attempts to ſtruggle againſt nature. Many of them languiſh with withered trunks and with difficulty keep life in their almoſt naked branches. Every year it is neceſſary to call in the aid of gun-powder to make new beds for thoſe which are to ſupply their place; and none of them are covered with that tufted foliage which belongs only to thoſe that grow in a natural ſoil. In a word, there are in the groves of St. Ildefonſo, marble ſtatues, baſons, caſcades, limpid waters, verdure and delightful proſpects, every thing but that which would be more charming than all the reſt, thick ſhades.

The court of Spain comes hither annually during the heat of the dog days. It

It arrives towards the end of July and returns at the beginning of October. The ſituation of St. Ildefonſo, upon the declivity of the mountains which ſeparate the two Caſtiles, and fronting a vaſt plain where there is no obſtacle to the paſſage of the north wind, renders this abode delightful in ſummer. The mornings and evenings of the hoteſt days are agreeably cool. Yet as this palace is upwards of twenty leagues from Madrid *, and half of the road which leads to it croſſes the broad tops of mountains, extremely ſteep in many places, it is much more agreeable to the lovers of the chace and ſolitude than to others. I arrived there at a time as brilliant for the court of Charles III. as it was flattering to that monarch. He expected the arrival of one of his auguſt nephews, the

* Fourteen Spaniſh leagues, ſeventeen and a half to a degree. Theſe fourteen make upwards of twenty of thoſe of France (and above fifty-five Engliſh miles). It is a great effort to perform this journey in ſix hours with mules which are much more ſwift than our beſt poſt-horſes.

count

count d'Artois, who allured by the glory promiſed to the beſiegers of Gibraltar, was going to give new luſtre to victory by his preſence and ſhare in the laurels. It is well known how abortive theſe ſplendid expectations proved by a fatality which renders vain the projects even of kings. The amiable brother of our ſovereign, while making every exertion in his power, could only ſhew his courage and his love for his country. The zealous ardour with which he paſſed the Pyrenees excited all the enthuſiaſm of admiration and love. I had the happineſs of being every where a witneſs to it in my journey through Biſcay and Caſtile; he was impatiently expected day after day. Every perſon I met enquired of me concerning him; and I was joyfully received as one of his fore-runners. The people imagined, becauſe I was a Frenchman, I muſt know and love him. Since the conqueſt of Spain by the houſe of Bourbon, this was the firſt time that one of the ſupporters of the ancient throne had approached the new one.

The

The Spaniſh monarch, to whom, in the midſt of royal occupations and political cares, the ſentiments of nature have ever been dear, expected his nephew with the impatience of a father. In his manner of receiving him the courtiers knew not whether they ſhould moſt admire his magnificence or the proofs of his affection. The foreſight of the ſovereign extended to his paſſing the Pyrenees, and he ſeemed to have communicated to all his ſubjects both his joy and impatience. How amiably did the youthful prince return theſe homages of the heart; and how well was his gratitude ſeconded by the friends who accompanied him! At Segovia he found the king's guards who conducted him in triumph to the palace, amid the thunder of artillery, the beating of drums and the acclamations of the court and people. An affecting interview ſucceeded to this ceremonious pomp. The oldeſt monarch in Europe preſſed to his boſom the amiable heir to his name. Tears fell from his eyes; and affection, united with dignity, proved to

every ſpectator that the habit of greatneſs deprives not all hearts of tenderneſs, and that Nature ever has her irreſiſtible claims. The count d'Artois, and thoſe who accompanied him, were lodged in the palace. The whole houſehold was at his command; but care was taken that thoſe about his perſon ſhould, by their manners and language, recall to his mind a faint idea of the court he had quitted. Theſe attentions had no bounds but that of the deſire of leaving a young prince at full liberty, which is far preferable to all the vain homages of ceremony. The king of Spain himſelf leads a very regular life; ſome certain employment is aſſigned to every hour of the day; yet nothing was deranged on account of his nephew's arrival. Hunting, fiſhing, his devotions and his buſineſs with the miniſters were all continued as uſual. The count d'Artois, on his part, knew how to enjoy the liberty granted him. With the docility of any leſs illuſtrious pupil; he ſubmitted himſelf to the

the care of the count of Montmorin, ambaſſador of the king his brother.

I ſaw but little of the count, who was wholly employed in the honourable taſk impoſed upon him; but according to every thing I heard, I judged that it could not be better executed, nor the intereſt of the king better attended to than by this nobleman. He would have been every where well placed. He was particularly ſo in Spain, a nation in general little prejudiced in our favour. We have however proved to the Spaniards in his perſon, that the French alſo are ſuſceptible of gravity unaccompanied by pedantry, that they may poſſeſs wiſdom without auſterity, dignity without pride, and prudence without timidity. Treated by the Spaniſh monarch and all his auguſt family, with the greateſt kindneſs and reſpect he conciliated to himſelf the confidence of the miniſters, the eſteem of the great, and the good-will of the people. The national character is ſomewhat cold, and not

too prodigal of the tokens of its benevolence; but perſons of merit are therefore the more flattered in receiving them; and I never yet have met with any one who knew the Spaniards intimately without having conceived for them a ſtrong and laſting eſteem. There is no court in Europe where the perſons of ambaſſadors are more generally known. In other courts they are ſeldom communicated with except upon the affairs with which they are charged. At that of Madrid, they are conſtantly before the eyes of the monarch, eſpecially the family ambaſſadors. Every morning as ſoon as the king returns from hunting, or has finiſhed the buſineſs which prevents his taking that diverſion every day, he receives thoſe of his miniſters who have any thing to communicate to him; theſe are ſucceeded by his confeſſor. After this audience the family ambaſſadors are introduced; and in theſe ſecret conferences, it is ſaid, the moſt delicate affairs are frequently diſcuſſed. Theſe ambaſſadors afterwards join thoſe of other courts,

courts, between whom the converſation is generally ſhort.

The king's dinner immediately ſucceeds, at the end of which the whole *corps diplomatique* is again introduced. After having appeared at the tables of the princes and princeſſes, the ambaſſadors and envoys from foreign courts paſs into the cabinet, where the monarch gives them a ſecond audience. Theſe audiences are repeated every day, and at the ſame hour, eſpecially for the ambaſſadors of France and Naples, who, as family ambaſſadors, leſs frequently permit themſelves to be abſent from the court than thoſe from other powers. The whole day is paſſed by the king of Spain with the ſame regularity and exactneſs. An hour after dinner he goes with the prince of Aſturias to the chace, whence he does not return until the evening. Exact in the duties of a father of a family, as well as in thoſe of a ſovereign, he goes to embrace his children, tranſacts buſineſs with one of his miniſters, makes

a party with ſome of the grandees who attend on his perſon, ſups in private, and retires early to bed. At ten o'clock the moſt profound ſilence reigns in his palace.

This court, ſo regular in its conduct and ſimple in its manners, is not however wanting in magnificence. The monarch, who always eats alone, has behind his chair his grand maſter, his almoner, and the captain of his guards. His table is ſerved by two grandees, one of them places the diſhes and the other, upon one knee, gives him the cup. There can be nothing humiliating in this poſture, which ſhocks thoſe who at other times are admitted to the familiarity of the ſovereign, becauſe it is ſanctioned by habit, and becauſe the principal perſons of the kingdom ſubmit to it; beſides, is not this homage, at which French vanity is ſo much offended, rendered alſo at the courts of Vienna and London, where the authority of the monarch is in ſo many reſpects circumſcribed?

ſcribed? At Madrid it is paid to all the perſons of the royal family; and the ladies who ſerve the princeſſes kneel likewiſe upon one knee, when they preſent them any thing to drink.

But the magnificence of the court of Spain is more particularly diſplayed on gala-days. Theſe are of two kinds, the great and leſſer galas. The great galas are kept eight times a year, on the birth-days of the king, the prince and princeſs of Aſturias, and of the king and queen of Naples: the leſſer ones, which are called demi-galas, are in honour of the other princes and princeſſes, deſcendants of Philip V. Theſe only require the courtiers to be dreſſed a little better than ordinary; but at the grand galas, the greateſt luxury of dreſs is diſplayed, in which, however, taſte does not always preſide. Every perſon in the ſervice of the court, from the grand maſter to thoſe who hold the moſt inconſiderable employments, have a uniform ſuitable to their places, and

which they wear on theſe occaſions. In the morning of theſe great days, all thoſe who have any connexion with the court, whether by their military ſervice, their titles, or civil functions, the eccleſiaſtics, and, for the moſt part, ſome monks, paſs before the king and the royal family, bending one knee and kiſſing the monarch's hand. This is a ſpecies of loyalty and homage, a renewing of the oath of fidelity. Our brave knights, as proud as we are, but perhaps leſs vain, diſdained not to kneel before him from whom they received their honours. The ceremony of inveſtiture is, at preſent, accompanied by the ſame act of ſubmiſſion. What therefore is there mortifying to pride in the homage rendered to the king of Spain, on certain ſolemn occaſions, or when thanks are returned him for ſome favour? But what is more ſingular, women, of the greateſt diſtinction, kiſs not only the hand of the monarch, but that of all his children, whatever may be their age or ſex, and the moſt

charm-

charming ducheſs proſtrates herſelf before the youngeſt infant, even when at the breaſt, and preſſes, with her lips, the little hand which mechanically receives or refuſes the premature homage.

But Spain is not the only country in which ceremony has ſanctified cuſtoms diſavowed by Nature, or mortifying to gallantry. J. J. Rouſſeau, when combating, with that energy ſo natural to him, thoſe who degrade the dignity of man before his fellow creature, remarks that in more courts than one, the whole body of ambaſſadors go ſolemnly to pay their compliments to a crowned infant, whoſe only anſwer *conſiſts in crying and drivelling*. My philoſophy is leſs rigorous; and I reſerve my invectives for ſubjects of more importance. I will moreover obſerve, in behalf of Spaniſh etiquette, that it favours the delicacy of the fair ſex. Men kiſs hands in public, but the ladies only in the inner apartments. None but the ladies who have employment in the palace, kiſs the

the hands of all the royal family. The others, who are received at court, pay this homage to no one but the queen and the princeſs of Aſturias. This claſs is compoſed of all the female grandees of Spain, and ladies of title; which denomination muſt not be underſtood in the ſenſe affixed to it in France. It here becomes neceſſary to treat of the dignities and titles of the court of Spain.

Princes of the blood, ſo called, have not hitherto been diſtinguiſhed as ſuch at this court. Next to the Infants and Infantas of Spain, and the ſons, grandſons and nephews of the ſovereign, immediately come the grandees. Theſe are divided into three claſſes, differing from each other by ſuch trifling diſtinctions as are ſcarcely worth notice. All the grandees of Spain, of whatever claſs they may be, are covered in preſence of the king, and have the title of excellence: in theſe are comprehended all their prerogatives.

rogatives *. There is no place or employment, however diſtinguiſhed it may be, which is excluſively attached to their rank, if thoſe of grand-maſter, and grand-equerry be excepted; as alſo that of *Sumiller de corps*, which has ſome relation with the place of grand-chamberlain, and the commiſſion of captain of halbardiers; but there are ſeveral others which infallibly lead to the rank of grandee. The band of gentlemen of the chamber to the number of forty, more or leſs, at the will of the ſovereign, is for the moſt part compoſed of grandees; but there are alſo ſome perſons of quality, who, without the former rank, obtain this dignity. It is true that none of the latter are employed immediately about the perſon of the ſovereign, or the heir to the crown, and that the queen and the princeſs of Aſ-

* I pay no attention to the frivolous honours they receive when they paſs the guard-room. Some perſon in waiting ſtrikes his foot againſt the ground to give notice to the centinel to reſt his arms to them.

turias

turias are ſerved by none but grandees: but theſe of both ſexes are indiſcriminately taken from the three claſſes. There are grandees of the moſt ancient and illuſtrious extraction of the two inferior claſſes, and who do not eſteem themſelves the leſs on that account.

Philip V. who conferred many titles of grandee, created not one either of the ſecond or third claſs. Ferdinand VI. imitated his example; but Charles III. has revived a diſtinction almoſt imaginary, which was nearly obliterated; and, in the laſt promotions, created ſeveral grandees of the ſecond claſs. They do not all enjoy the privilege of being covered in the royal preſence, except when they are received for the firſt time, and when they accompany his majeſty at any ceremony. This honour does not, however, belong to them excluſively; they enjoy it in common with the nuncio, the family ambaſſadors, and ſome generals of orders, who alſo have the title of excellence, and as long as their dignity

dignity continues, are aſſociated with the real grandees.

Beſides the titles of grandee, which are hereditary, there are others that become extinct at the death of the poſſeſſor. Some perſons obtain the honours only of grandee, and tranſmit them to their deſcendants. He who enjoys them bears the title of excellence, but is not covered in preſence of the king. A more marked diſtinction in the different claſſes of grandee, and which is not founded upon law, but upon cuſtom, ſtill more tyrannical, is that which the grandees of ancient families eſtabliſh between themſelves and thoſe of more modern or leſs illuſtrious extraction. The firſt ſpeak to each other in the ſingular number, on all occaſions, and whatever may be the difference in their ages, or the places they hold. I have more than once heard young grandees, who ſcarcely had the rank of colonel, ſpeak in this manner to the miniſter for war, whom they looked upon as their equal in point

of

of birth. But when they converſe or correſpond with grandees, whoſe extraction appears to them to be unequal to their own, they ceremoniouſly give and receive the title of *excellence*. The latter frequently ſuffer in ſecret by this mortifying homage; ſo ingenious is vanity in every country, in creating itſelf enjoyments, and even torments, and in converting vain chimeras into realities, which have an influence upon happineſs. The new grandees ſolicit the honour of ſpeaking to each other in the ſingular number, as they would do the favour of the ſovereign. The refuſal they meet with is the more mortifying, as this mark of equality and familiarity is ſometimes granted by the moſt diſtinguiſhed grandees, to branches of ſome illuſtrious houſes who have not yet obtained the title, and who, thinking they have well-founded pretenſions to ſuch an honour, are diſtinguiſhed by the name of *caſas agraviadas*, *injured families*.

The

The title of grandee, when hereditary, is ſo in males and females, unleſs the patent formally expreſſes the contrary. There are many houſes in Spain that, by marriages with heireſſes to this title, have ten or twelve *hats*; which is the vulgar term to denote the dignity of grandee of Spain.

This accumulation is an imaginary advantage, which adds nothing to the dignity of him by whom it is enjoyed: and although he may have children, he has not even the power of diſtributing the hats among them. The right of primogeniture to the title of grandee is eſtabliſhed in every family enjoying that hereditary rank. There are but few in which the ſecond ſon has a title and a grandeeſhip in his own right. All the eldeſt ſons of grandees receive, by anticipation, the title of excellence, but their brothers have it not, nor that of count or marquis: they bear the name of their family, preceded by that they received in bap-

baptiſm. Thus the brother of the duke of Uceda, is ſimply called Don Emmanuel Pacheco; and the younger ſons of the late count of Fuentes, predeceſſor of the count of Aranda, Don Juan and Don Franciſco Pignatelli.

This diſtinction muſt not be loſt ſight of by a ſtranger, who does not wiſh to be deceived by the vain words count and marquis, and by them to appreciate the rank of perſons. There are many grandees of Spain who have no other title. There is no mark of extraordinary diſtinction in that of duke. It is given according to the pleaſure of the ſovereign, when he confers the title of grandee, on which account the patent is a little more expenſive.

But all thoſe who are honoured with the title of count or marquis are not grandees. Moſt of them are no more than what are called *titulos*, or *titles* of Caſtile. Theſe titles prove not an illuſtrious race, but the favour of the ſove-

ſovereign, commonly merited by ſome particular and important ſervice, either in a military or civil capacity. The king generally grants to him whom he thus honours, the liberty of applying his title to one of his eſtates; and ſometimes adds a denomination which denotes the ſervice he wiſhes to recompence. Thus was it that under Philip V, the admiral Navarro, who commanded the Spaniſh ſquadron at the battle of Toulon, received the title of *Marquis de la Victoria*; he who in 1759 eſcorted Charles III. from Naples to Barcelona, that of *Marquis del Real Tranſporte*; and more recently, the Miniſter of the Indies; Don Joſeph de Galvez, whoſe long ſervices Charles III. wiſhed to reward by one of theſe titles, took that of *Marquis de la Sonora*, from the name of a colony, which his zeal and talents had acquired to his country, by peopling and improving it, and by freeing the whole ſettlement from the incurſions of the ſavages.

Theſe titles of Caſtile give to thoſe who bear them, and to their wives, the qualification of Lordſhip, *Vueſtra Senoria.* The refuſal of this, in matters of ceremony, carries with it a mortification; but the greater part are too reaſonable to require or even ſuffer it from their equals in the ordinary intercourſe of ſociety; though their inferiors beſtow this honour upon them very laviſhly. There are every where flatterers, as well as perſons who love to be flattered. But thoſe who are more particularly exact in rendering them their due in this reſpect, are ſuch as have a right to the title of excellence in return, and who love their own ears ſhould be tickled with a ſound ſo pleaſing.

There is a title between this and lordſhip; that of *Uſſia Illuſtriſſima* (moſt illuſtrious lordſhip) which is given to archbiſhops, biſhops, and great magiſtrates.

The

The dignity of grandee, as well as the titles of marquis and counts of Caſtile are not only unaccompanied with any pecuniary advantage, but are not even beſtowed gratis. Thoſe who obtain them, immediately pay a duty which has been received ever ſince the reign of Charles V, known by the appellation of *Demi-Annates**.

The grandees pay about twenty thouſand livres (833l.) which, by the fees of the Chancery are increaſed to twenty-five thouſand (1040l.) This duty is paid as often as the title deſcends, and is more or leſs according to the greater or leſſer diſtance between him who inherits it, and the perſon from whom it is derived. Beſides the duty on taking up the title, the grandees annually pay another under the name of *Lanzas*.

* The king ſometimes remits this duty. The count d'Eſtaing received from the Spaniſh monarch this additional favour on obtaining the rank of grandee.

This is the remains and faint image of the military ſervice, which the great vaſſals of the crown formerly performed, by furniſhing a certain number of ſpears. As foreigners, who are grandees of Spain, cannot be ſubjected to this ſpecies of ſervitude, it appears equally conformable to reaſon and cuſtom that they ſhould not pay the duty of *lanzas*.

According to an arrangement mutually agreed to between the courts of Madrid and Verſailles, ſince the ſame family has been in poſſeſſion of the two thrones, the grandees of Spain are to rank with the dukes and peers of France. This acknowledgment of equality was not obtained without much oppoſition on the part of the former. When the queſtion was agitated at the beginning of the reign of Philip V. the duke of Arcos, in the name of all the grandees, remonſtrated againſt it to that monarch in the ſtrongeſt terms. He aſſerted, that the grandees could not but be greatly ſurpriſed and offended at finding themſelves conſidered

as

as on a level with the peers of France. At their own court, ſaid the duke, the grandees ſee no one between them and the throne but the ſons of their ſovereign, whilſt the peers of France muſt give place, firſt to the princes of the blood, next to the legitimated princes, and laſtly even to foreign ones, not only to thoſe of Italy and Germany, but alſo to thoſe who, although deſcended from royal families, hold places in the ſervice of the king of France, ſuch as the dukes of Loraine, de Bouillon, and others. The duke endeavoured to prove by many facts, that the grandees in Spain conſtituted the firſt order of ſubjects immediately after the royal family; and that moſt of them were in poſſeſſion of privileges, as deſcending from royal anceſtors, either in the male line, as the dukes of Medina Celi, deſcended from the infants de la Cerda, or in the female, or even from baſtards. He gave inſtances of kings of Spain, and even of emperors, who had treated them as equals with the princes of Italy and Germany, and proved

that the grandees had always enjoyed the ſame honours as the princes deſcended from ſovereigns, when they were not royal; that when the courts of France and Spain had named repreſentatives, thoſe of France were princes of the blood, and thoſe of Spain grandees; without the leaſt difference being made in the reſpect and honours paid to each. From all theſe proofs the duke concluded, that the dignity of grandee of Spain correſponded with that of the princes of the blood in France, and not with that of the peers.

Theſe arguments were certainly plauſible, but they were ill-received by Philip, who had contracted at the court of his grand-father a taſte for deſpotiſm. The anſwer he returned to the duke was, that he would do well to go and ſignalize his zeal with the army in Flanders. This order was obeyed, and the duke, when on his return through Paris, was the firſt who deſiſted from the pretenſions of which he had been the advocate.

vocate. He made the firſt viſit to the princes of the blood, gave them the title of highneſs without receiving the ſame, and addreſſed the dukes and peers by the title of excellence without requiring a return; thus the cauſe of the grandees was loſt for ever. Their number rapidly increaſed; their dignity was granted to ſeveral foreign noblemen; and, as all things are diminiſhed in value by being multiplied, the grandees have become accuſtomed, by degrees, to ſee themſelves, without any great mortification, conſidered as on a level with the dukes and peers of France. We are not to ſuppoſe, however, that the grandees of Spain, who derive their dignity from the reign of Charles V, do not think themſelves ſuperior to others, as in Germany the princes of ancient families believe they are to thoſe who were created by Ferdinand and his ſucceſſors; but this difference ſo flattering in ſecret to vanity, vaniſhes from before the eyes of the nation, and eſpecially from thoſe of the ſovereign.

Theſe grandees may, indeed, entertain a very high opinion of their own dignity and illuſtrious birth, but in other reſpects they are extremely affable and obliging. They are far from poſſeſſing that ſullen pride attributed to them by European prejudices. Many of them are as remarkable for a gentleneſs of manners and goodneſs of heart, as the great in other courts for a haughty and forbidding dignity. It is not that they do not poſſeſs that which might be, if not a motive, at leaſt an excuſe for the aſſuming airs of pride; high employments, illuſtrious birth, and immenſe fortunes. Indeed, with reſpect to the latter, they are ſuperior to thoſe of the moſt opulent at the court of France.

There are no fortunes at Verſailles to be compared to thoſe of the duke of Medina Celi, the duke of Alba, the marquis of Penafiel, the count of Altamira, or the duke of Infantado. It muſt however be confeſſed that their ex-

external appearance does not correſpond to their fortune. They do not ruin themſelves as in France, in large and numerous houſes, entertainments and Engliſh gardens. All theſe ſpecies of oſtentation are in Spain yet in their infancy: theirs is more obſcure, but perhaps not leſs expenſive. Numerous ſets of mules, rich liveries which are diſplayed but three or four times a year, and a multitude of ſervants, are their great articles of expence. The ill management of their eſtates, into which they ſeldom or never examine, conſiderably diminiſhes their income. They have ſtewards, treaſurers, and various officers, like thoſe of petty ſovereigns. They keep in their pay, not only the ſervants grown old in their ſervice, but thoſe even of their fathers, and the families whence they inherit, and even provide for the ſubſiſtence of their children and relations. I was aſſured that the duke of Arcos, who died in 1780, maintained three thouſand perſons. This magnificence which diſguiſes itſelf under the

the veil of charity, appears to have more than one inconvenience, it encourages idleneſs and cauſes miſmanagement and extravagance, which while dependents are thus multiplied, muſt eſcape the moſt careful vigilance. Notwithſtanding all this, there are fewer great families go to decay and ruin in Spain than in moſt other countries. The ſimplicity of their manners, their little taſte for oſtentation, and repugnance to ruinous arts, which, in other kingdoms, are found ſo ſeducing, conſpire to preſerve the eſtates of the Spaniſh nobility; but whenever the grandees of Spain ſhall chuſe to imitate the example of thoſe of other courts, their ſplendour will be equal to that of the moſt brilliant. This may be judged of by the appearance ſome have made in foreign countries when the dignity of their nation required a diſplay of magnificence. They have hitherto indeed but little ſought the paths which lead to the gratification of ambition. At the beginning of the preſent century, when they were divided between

tween the two princes who aſpired to the throne, when once their paſſions were rouſed, they made efforts and diſplayed talents, which were not always employed in the beſt cauſe, but which proved that the latter reigns of the princes of the houſe of Auſtria had not benumbed their faculties. A kind of ſupineneſs, which continued half a century, ſucceeded to this fermentation; but in the preſent reign they have ſhaken it off, and proved that the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſubjects in a nation are not always the moſt uſeleſs. They embrace with eagerneſs the profeſſion of arms, which in fact offers them but few temptations, and which in Spain is more ſubjecting to courtiers than in France. In the political department they have more than one diſtinguiſhed ſtateſman to boaſt of, without mentioning that noble perſonage who is too intimately connected with us to permit me to put his modeſty to the bluſh by an homage which I ſhould have ſo much pleaſure in rendering to his talents and virtues.

The

The body of the grandees furniſhes at preſent but few members to the church, which in Spain has not ſo many attractions for the vanity of great families as in other catholic kingdoms of Europe; but the few individuals of this claſs who have devoted themſelves to the ſacred duties, without regard to worldly conſiderations, are exemplary for their learning and piety. The only dignity with which they at preſent are inveſted, is that of Patriarch of the Indies, who at the court of Spain performs the functions of grand almoner. This is not merely a place of ceremony; he who holds it is conſtantly in waiting near the perſon of the ſovereign. No other grandees, except thoſe in actual ſervice are near the monarch; theſe are the grand-maſter of his houſehold, his grand equerry, his *Sumiller de corps*, his firſt equerry, two gentlemen of the chamber, the captain of the guards in quarter, and he who attends the prince of Aſturias, his *Sumiller de corps*, and four gentlemen of the chamber, who in turns ſerve him by two and two.

This

This prince and the princeſs of Aſturias, have each their grand-maſter and grand equerry; which great officers conſtantly reſide near the perſons of their highneſſes. All the other grandees have their fixed reſidence at Madrid, whence they are but momentarily abſent to make their court. Some, though but few almoſt conſtantly reſide in the capitals of provinces; but I know none who habitually reſide on their eſtates, which they dignify with the pompous title of *States*; and which, from their extent and the privileges annexed to them, are not altogether unworthy of the title.

The dignity of grandee is not announced by any exterior inſignia. Thoſe who are gentlemen of the chamber wear a golden key. There are ſix orders of knighthood in Spain; but not one to which the grandees have an excluſive right. The moſt diſtinguiſhed is the order of the golden fleece, founded by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, and which the court of Vienna continues to

to confer in concurrence with that of Madrid, although the former had renounced this prerogative, by the treaty which terminated the great quarrel between Philip V, and the archduke. The number of knights of the golden fleece is very limited in Spain, and this is the order, which of all thoſe in Europe, has beſt preſerved its ancient ſplendour.

There are alſo four military orders, founded at the time of the cruſades; and ſince the time of Ferdinand the Catholic, the king has been grand maſter of them all. They are thoſe of *Santiago*, *Calatrava*, *Monteza*, and *Alcantara*. The three firſt are diſtinguiſhed by a red ribbon, and the laſt by a green one. Theſe four orders have commanderies, which are conferred by the king. They were for a long time given to every claſs of perſons, provided they could bring the requiſite proofs. Charles III, recalled them to the ſpirit of their firſt inſtitution, and preſcribed to himſelf an irrevocable law to beſtow them on none but military men.

men. An honourable diſtinction for the reſt of the ſubjects was therefore wanting. This he ſupplied in 1771 by creating a fifth order, which bears his name, and is dedicated to the conception of the virgin. It is compoſed of two claſſes: that of the great croſſes and ſimple knights. The great croſſes wear the great ribband of the order, ſky blue, edged with white. On days of ceremony they are clothed in a great mantle with theſe two colours, and wear a collar upon which are alternatively diſplayed the arms of Caſtile and the king's cypher.

The number of the great croſſes ſhould be limited to ſixty. When the order was firſt eſtabliſhed the members were choſen from among the grandees, except two of the great officers, one of which was the archbiſhop of Toledo, and the other the Patriarch of the Indies. A ſhort time afterwards the king made an exception to this rule, in favour of his marine miniſter, the marquis of Caſtejon.

jon. This exception was afterwards extended; though the order was ſtill confined to the moſt eminent perſonages of the kingdom, ſuch as the miniſters and ſome general officers, diſtinguiſhed either by their zeal or ſervices.

The ſimple knights were two hundred in number, each enjoying a penſion of a thouſand livres (about forty pounds). A few years ſince the king beſtowed this leſſer order upon ſome perſons in France, who are not reckoned in the original number. In their favour he has departed from the ſtatute which rendered this order incompatible with all others, by permiting it to be aſſociated with the croſs of St. Louis.

Proofs of nobility are neceſſary to this latter order, as well as to the four military ones; this I muſt believe, becauſe I have been aſſured of it by ſeveral people of veracity, otherwiſe I ſhould have had my doubts of its truth, or have imagined at leaſt that there were ſeveral means of eluding the law.

It

It is true, that nobility in moſt of the provinces of Spain, is not difficult to eſtabliſh.

It is ſufficient that he who aſpires to this diſtinction proves himſelf, and his anceſtors, to have lived nobly, without having exerciſed any of the profeſſions, few in number, which law and prejudice declare to be vile; he is then reputed a gentleman by deſcent; *hidalgo*; for in Spain, nobility by creation is unknown. Some humoriſts have obſerved, that there are whole provinces of which all the inhabitants are gentlemen: nor is this any great exaggeration.

Philip V. ennobled all the Biſcayans. All the Aſturians are believed to be deſcended from the ancient Goths, who took refuge in the mountains of Aſturia, and are reputed noble on account of this honourable origin. But there cannot be a more glaring abſurdity than to imagine that two or three hundred

thouſand men, who ſettled ſome centuries ago in a ſmall province, were all noble. If all men meaſured five feet ſix inches the words giant and dwarf would be obliterated from the dictionary. Nobility neceſſarily ſuppoſes a more numerous claſs, who are ignoble. Thus, in fact, there are in Biſcay and Aſturia, as in other parts of Europe, diſtinguiſhed families, in the opinion of the public, who have made a great figure in the diſtrict in which they reſide, either by their opulence, or the places they have held; and whatever may be the pretenſions of obſcure neighbouring families, the former affect a pre-eminence, which theſe acknowledge by their homages: this, however, prevents not the latter from cheriſhing the ideas of grandeur, which preſerves in their minds a nobleneſs undoubtedly preferable to the chimerical nobility of blood: ſo that if by chance they arrive at ſome employment leſs obſcure than their birth, they think they have only regained their proper place, and are leſs inſolent and vain

vain than moſt upſtarts in other countries. I have more than once remarked this diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic, even in the loweſt ranks of the Aſturians and Biſcayans. They have, in their appearance, ſomething more haughty, and are much leſs humble in their homages. They are not awed either by titles or riches. A man in place, is in their eyes a fortunate man, who has won in the royal lottery, in which they all have a ticket, and may win in their turn; and this prejudice, ridiculous as it may ſeem, keeps them on their guard againſt meanneſs, and even againſt degrading crimes.

Notwithſtanding thoſe imperceptible gradations, which in Spain ſeparate the nobility from the inferior ranks, the proofs required, in certain caſes, are cloſely examined: but there, as well as in other countries, money and intereſt procure genealogiſts not over ſcrupulous. A reflection, applicable to every nation, may be made with reſpect to the nobility of Spain, which is, that

the leſs a monarch is limited, the more arbitrary are theſe diſtinctions, and the more irregular the gradations. Deſpots, even thoſe the leaſt tyrannical, prefer or neglect their ſubjects, according to their caprices. Unlimited monarchies, more or leſs, approach this uncertainty: and there are few in which the ſovereign authority is leſs circumſcribed than in Spain.

Under the ancient form of government it was more confined; but it changed by degrees, and without commotion. The intermediate ranks ſcarcely exiſt in name.

The hiſtory of Spain ſufficiently proves how great an influence the Cortes had in the moſt important affairs of government, in war, peace, and the levying of taxes. Theſe, for a long time paſt, have not been aſſembled, except for the ſake of form. And the ſovereigns, without violence, without formally, rejecting their intervention, have found

found means to elude their authority. They promulgate from the throne ordinances under the name of *pragmatiques*, the preambles of which give us to underſtand, that they claim the ſame authority as if they had been publiſhed in the aſſembly of the Cortes; which are never convoked except at the acceſſion of a new ſovereign to the throne, to adminiſter to him an oath in the name of the nation, and to ſwear to him fidelity.

On this occaſion, letters of convocation are ſent to all the grandees, to all perſons bearing titles of Caſtile, to all the prelates, and to every city which has a right to ſend deputies to the Cortes. The two firſt claſſes repreſent the nobility, the prieſts ſit in the name of the clergy, and the cities which depute one of their magiſtrates, repreſent the people. Except on theſe occaſions, of which there have been but two examples in the preſent century, the Cortes of the whole kingdom have

not been aſſembled ſince 1713, when Philip V. convoked them to give their approbation to the pragmatic ſanction, which changed the order of ſucceſſion to the throne.

They are ſtill conſulted, for the ſake of form, in certain caſes; but then the members of which they are compoſed correſpond with each other, without aſſembling. A faint image of them, however, remains in an aſſembly, which conſtantly reſides at Madrid, under the name of *Diputados de los Reynos* (deputies of the kingdom).

At their breaking up in 1713, it was regulated, that they ſhould be repreſented by a permanent committee, whoſe office it ſhould be to watch over the adminiſtration of that part of the taxes, known by the name of *Millones*, and which had been granted under Philip II. with the formal conſent of the Cortes, upon certain conditions, which the monarch ſwore to obſerve. They retained the

the adminiſtration of theſe impoſts until the year 1718, when Cardinal Alberoni, whoſe ardent and imperious genius was irritated at ſuch ſhackles, tranſferred it to the hands of the ſovereign. From that time the aſſembly of deputies of the kingdoms, held no more of the ſtate revenues than the ſmall portion neceſſary to pay the ſalaries and defray the expences of the members. Theſe are eight in number, and are choſen in the following manner:

But firſt it will be proper to obſerve, that the diviſion of Spain into kingdoms and provinces, as deſcribed in maps and geographical treatiſes, has ſcarcely any place in fact. The government knows but one diviſion, *the provinces of the crown of Caſtile, and thoſe of the crown of Aragon.* Theſe two parts of the monarchy differ from each other with reſpect to the adminiſtration, form, and collection of taxes; a diſtinction which had its origin at the time when Caſtile and Aragon were united by the

marriage of Iſabella and Ferdinand the Catholic, and which ſince that time has undergone but few alterations. The crown of Aragon poſſeſſed only Aragon, properly ſo called, Catalonia, the kingdom of Valentia, and that of Majorca compoſed of the ancient Balearic iſlands, Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica. The crown of Caſtile poſſeſſed the reſt of the Spaniſh monarchy. The deputies of the kingdoms are choſen according to this diviſion. All the provinces of Caſtile unite to name ſix; Catalonia and Majorca one; and the Regencies of Valencia and Aragon elect the eighth. Theſe deputies ſit but for ſix years, at the end of which a new nomination takes place in the ſame manner. As a relict of their ancient rights, they ſtill retain the privilege of being, by virtue of their places, members of the council of Finance, by which the ſovereign communicates to the nation the neceſſity of levying any new tax; and the approbation they are ſuppoſed to give to the royal reſolution is a ſhadow of the conſent of the Cortes, with-

without which taxes could not formerly be either levied or augmented. But it is eaſy to perceive how feeble this rampart of liberty muſt be, which is only formed of a ſmall number of citizens, who poſſeſs but little real power, are under the controul of government from which they expect favours and preferments, and who, after all, repreſent only the people, the moſt numerous but the leaſt reſpected part of the nation. The provinces of Biſcay and Navarre, which have aſſemblies and particular privileges, ſend alſo, on ſome accaſions, deputies to the throne, but they do not make a part of the body of the deputies of the kingdom, and their conſtituents fix at pleaſure the object and duration of their temporary miſſion.

We may perceive from this ſketch how little the ſovereign authority is limited in Spain. The will of the monarch is alſo carried into execution by ſeveral permanent bodies, under the name of Councils, who are the interpreters

preters and keepers of the laws, and of which we ſhall ſpeak more particularly after having conducted the reader to Madrid.

Before we quit the reſidence of the ſovereign, it will be proper to ſay ſomething farther concerning the miniſters who are conſtantly near his perſon; and with whom alone, at preſent, he ſhares the weight of royalty. Their authority was formerly counter-balanced by the council of ſtate, which was conſulted on all important occaſions; which ſtill ſubſiſts and forms the moſt diſtinguiſhed body in the monarchy; but which, ſince the adminiſtration of cardinal Alberoni, has not been permitted to aſſemble or exerciſe its functions. The place of counſellor of ſtate is now only honorary, with a conſiderable ſalary annexed to it, and furniſhes the ſovereign with the means of rewarding thoſe of his ſubjects who have deſerved well of the ſtate, in the moſt diſtinguiſhed employments. The various of-

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fices of adminiſtration generally lead to this appointment at the end of a few years, and formerly the miniſters had not the title of excellence until they were thus promoted. But at the recent nomination of M. de Valdez to the marine department, the king ordained that from that time all his miniſters ſhould bear that title, even before they became counſellors of ſtate.

As there are ſtill important caſes in which the ſovereign, modeſt enough to diſtruſt his own diſcernment, wiſhes to receive the advice of thoſe whom he honours with his confidence, he ſupplies the want of the aſſemblies of the counſellors of ſtate, by uniting his miniſters in a committee.

The adminiſtration of the kingdom is divided into ſix principal departments. The miniſter of foreign affairs is in many reſpects the directing miniſter, and receives, as a mark of diſtinction, the title of ſecretary of ſtate. The miniſter of

of war has but a circumſcribed authority. He is preſident of the council of war, which is rather a tribunal than a board of adminiſtration; but the inſpectors of the infantry, and thoſe of the cavalry, dragoons, and provincial regiments, draw up a ſtatement of whatever relates to the corps of which they have the direction, and the miniſter at war has only to preſent the memorials they give in to the king.

The marine miniſter has no aſſociates. The chiefs of the three departments, and the inſpectors of the marine are named by the king on the repreſentation of the miniſter; the marine ordinances prepared by him alone require only the ſanction of the ſovereign.

The miniſter of finances ſhould properly be under the inſpection of the ſuperintendant general of that department; but theſe two offices were ſome time ſince united, and will probably be ſo continued; the ſeparation of them would

would multiply without neceſſity the ſprings of government, and the intereſts of the ſtate require they ſhould be ſimplified as much as permanent forms, thoſe ſacred bulwarks of juſtice and property, will admit. Beſides, when the ſovereign believes he has found in a ſubject the capacity and integrity required for the adminiſtration of his finances, why ſhould he put over him other inſpectors than his own conſcience, and the zealous wiſh to juſtify ſo flattering a choice? The animadverſion of a cenſor could, in ſuch a caſe, produce nothing but diviſions and miſtruſt, which would operate to the diſadvantage of the ſervice. The event has juſtified theſe reflections, in the perſons of three miniſters who have governed the finances of Charles III. Theſe miniſters are, beſides, by their office, preſidents of the council of finance.

The miniſter of the Indies has the moſt extenſive department in all the monarchy, for in him is centered the civil, military, eccleſiaſtical and financial government

vernment of Spaniſh America, and it may be ſaid, that in the whole political world there is no miniſter whoſe department comprehends ſo many different objects. Had Auguſtus committed to one ſingle miniſter the government of the whole Roman empire, his power would only have extended to a ſmall part of modern Europe, the coaſts of Africa, and ſome provinces of Aſia; for the Roman empire at the time it was moſt extenſive, was not to be compared to that immenſe country which, from the north of California, ſtretches to the ſtreights of Magellan, and forms the dominions of the Spaniſh monarch in America, and the department of the miniſter of the Indies?

The miniſter *of favour and juſtice* has his department in the judiciary and eccleſiaſtical affairs; but his authority is circumſcribed by the great chamber *(Camara)* of the council of Caſtile, of which we ſhall treat in another place; and with reſpect to the nomination to benefices by the intervention of the king's

king's confeſſor. The latter, however, is not conſtitutional, but depends upon the will of the monarch, and the confidence with which he honours the director of his conſcience.

Theſe ſix offices are uſually filled by ſix different perſons; but until the year 1776, the ſame miniſter held thoſe of the marine and the Indies, which are ſo connected, that the good of the nation will, perhaps, require them to be again united. They are at preſent ſeparate; Don Joſeph de Galvez poſſeſſes that of the Indies, which was conferred upon him in the year above-mentioned. Europe and America may judge whether or not this adminiſtration has been ſucceſsful, and whether the active genius of the miniſter has contributed to render flouriſhing the moſt extenſive colony that ever a mother country had under its dominion. Don Antonio de Valdez has preſided over the marine department ſince the year 1783, and began his

his adminiſtration under the moſt happy auſpices. At the death of Don Miguel de Muſquiz, who was miniſter at war and of the finances, theſe two departments were confided to Don Pedro de Lerena, intendant of the four kingdoms of Andaluſia. I quitted Spain about that time, and have not ſince had an opportunity of learning the public opinion of the new miniſter.

The department for foreign affairs ſince the reſignation of the marquis of Grimaldi has been in the poſſeſſion of the count of Florida Blanca, whoſe talents were diſplayed at Rome under the pontificate of Clement XIV, and in the moſt delicate circumſtances. He has ſince united to this department that of favour and juſtice, the ſuperintendancy of the poſt-ſtages, with that of the royal roads and public magazines. I have been aſſured that nothing was wanting to this reſpectable miniſter but better health to qualify him for the great

great taſk he has impoſed upon himſelf.

The ſtability of miniſters is one of the moſt remarkable particularities of the court of Spain. The monarch, who in diſpoſing of theſe eminent places, conſults public opinion, has hitherto had the rare happineſs of never having his approbation diſhonoured by the event. For which reaſon his miniſters, without abandoning themſelves to indolence, which this ſecurity might naturally produce, ardently labour to juſtify his confidence, and loſe not that time which to them is ſo precious, in watching the latent ſprings of intrigue, and diſconcerting its ſecret machinations. They have the courage to form vaſt projects, becauſe they know that death only can prevent their execution, and are certain of finding a conſtant ſupport in the benevolence of the monarch. Nothing diverts them from their principal object. Pleaſures do not abound at the Spaniſh court; there are no theatrical repreſen-

tations of any kind; the amuſement of the ſovereign and the princes is confined to the chace. This is a great inconvenience to the idlers about the court, but very advantageous to public affairs. Miniſters may there dedicate their whole time to their buſineſs, and give frequent audiences. I have often greatly admired the ſimple and regular life they lead; walking is almoſt the only amuſement they permit themſelves. Nothing leſs than the eſteem of the nation and the love of public good can recompenſe them for ſo intirely renouncing the greater part of the pleaſures of life. I never was intimate with any of them, but according to what I have heard, they feel no regret at the ſelf-denial which their ſituations require. Their principal ſociety conſiſts of their clerks, who habitually eat at their table. This reciprocal conſtraint has ſome particular inconveniences, but there reſults from it a greater union between the heads and the ſubalterns, and more unanimity in the conduct of affairs. Thoſe who diſpatch them

them under the eye of the miniſter are not, in fact, merely clerks; they may rather be compared to the principals of our offices. To be appointed to theſe places, it is neceſſary to have given proofs of talents in ſome confidential employment. There are undoubtedly abuſes in the public offices of the court of Spain as well as in all others; orders are there eluded, and perhaps traiterouſly divulged as in other countries; but in general, corruption is very rare, and perſons in office are polite and obliging; this is the unanimous opinion of thoſe who have had any connections or buſineſs with them.

It may reaſonably be ſuppoſed that with the few reſources which the court of Spain preſents, it conſiſts only of thoſe who are confined there by their places. At St. Ildefonſo it is almoſt deſerted, ſo that the royal perſonages are for the moſt part reduced to the ſociety of thoſe whoſe ſervices require their attendance. The princeſs of Aſturias

herſelf, whoſe obliging manners, wit and graces irreſiſtably charm all thoſe who approach her, paſſes moſt of her time in private, where ſhe has few other pleaſures than thoſe of muſic and converſation. The prince, her huſband, has a taſte for muſic and moſt of the fine arts; he patronizes that of painting in particular, and not ſatisfied with the maſter-pieces with which the palace of the king his father is furniſhed, he is making a collection of the beſt paintings of different ſchools, in which he is aſſiſted by two of his valets de chambres, one a Frenchman, the other an Italian. Some years ago, on the vague expreſſion of a wiſh, which was taken notice of by one of them, Louis XVI, ſent him two fine paintings by Vernet. The prince has become ſo partial to the productions of the pencil of that maſter, that in the eſcurial there is a little cabinet of which all the pannels are finiſhed by the hand of this great painter.

The apartments of the palace of St. Ildefonſo are, if I may ſo ſpeak, hung with paintings. Thoſe of the firſt royal anti-chamber are flattering to a French obſerver; he there paſſes in review, as in an hiſtorical gallery, firſt an elegant portrait of Louis XIV, by Rigaud; and next that of Louis XV. when a child; thoſe of the regent, the duke of Vendome, the laſt duke of Parma, of the houſe of Farneſe and his ducheſs, as alſo thoſe of Charles III, when he went to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Naples, and Philip V, on his arrival in Spain; the latter of which made a great impreſſion on me as well as many other perſons by the mild and noble countenance which reſembles that of the count d'Artois. It is rather ſurpriſing that this portrait ſhould be placed near that of the archduke. It might be imagined by this ſingular union that at the termination of the quarrel of theſe two princes, the archduke had ſent to his fortunate rival, his portrait, as a pledge of their reconciliation, and that it was placed in a pa-

lace, in which the duke, whoſe likeneſs it was, had conceived the hope of aſcending the throne. The chamber adjoining is that in which the king dines. It has a view of one of the fineſt caſcades in the garden, which is ſurrounded by double walls of verdure. The neareſt trees ſhade the balcony, and their ſhadows gently wave on the pannels within. This room is alſo decorated with ſeveral paintings, among which are ſome by Murillo and Solimena. I mean not to enumerate all thoſe in the adjoining apartments. I ſhall only obſerve, that according to connoiſſeurs there is a fine one of St. Sebaſtian, by Guido; an excellent copy of a Magdalen by the ſame maſter; and a Flemiſh family by Rubens, in which we ſee the ſtrongeſt expreſſion. There is alſo a picture by Pouſſin, but it is placed ſo high that I could not diſtinguiſh the ſubject; two heads by Mengs, a ſmall piece by Amiconi, in which three beautiful angels of rather too faint a white, hold the ſacred winding ſheet unfolded; the portraits of the princes

princes of Conde and M. de Turenne, upon the ſame canvaſs, by Vandyck; with ſeveral other pieces of a ſmaller ſize to be ſeen in the king's cabinet. There are alſo a conſiderable number in the apartments of the prince and princeſs of Aſturias. Among others are three of larger dimenſions in their dining-room, which repreſent the three principal periods of the life of Job. In that of the Infanta Maria-Joſepha is a Roman charity ſo ſtriking as to excite univerſal admiration; the colouring is highly finiſhed, and in the heads there is a nobleneſs and propriety which inſpires equal admiration and reſpect. In the drawing-room of the princeſs there is one painting, ſingular from its extraordinary ſize, and the number of figures it contains. By their odd dreſſes, ſo little reſembling thoſe of the age, the artiſt may be ſuppoſed a Fleming. It preſents all the various circumſtances of the repaſt at which Herod, to pleaſe his daughter, ordered John the Baptiſt to be beheaded. It is natural to imagine that

the painter intended by this allegory to perpetuate a remembrance of the death of the unfortunate Don Carlos: this is one of thoſe old traditions which time has rendered ſacred, and of which the age and origin are equally unknown. I ſhall not farther enlarge this long liſt, which will convey no information to connoiſſeurs, and is inſufficient for the ignorant. Thoſe of our readers who wiſh for a more complete one may conſult two journeys into Spain not long ſince given to the public, one by Mr. Twiſs, and the other by Mr. Swinburn *.

Let us now deſcend to the gallery, which occupies all the front on the ſide towards the gardens. Here are alſo ſome paintings, and among others, two good copies, one from Raphael, the other from Giulio Romano, and two or three

* Theſe two Engliſhmen, who have lately written upon Spain, are not in equal repute in their own country. Mr. Swinburn, known by other travels, diſplays in his work conſiderable taſte and learning, and is preferred to Mr. Twiſs.

pretty

pretty heads in Moſaic; but what is moſt valuable is a conſiderable number of antiques, moſt of which were purchaſed in Italy by Philip V, and formerly made a part of the cabinet of queen Chriſtina. Thoſe which moſt engaged my attention were a cylindrical altar, on which the proceſſion of Silenus is ſculptured in baſs relief; a coloſſal Cleopatra; a ſtatue of Jupiter wielding his thunder, ſeveral Venuſes of the ſize of the human figure; eight muſes a little mutilated, in which modern and unſkilful hands have endeavoured to repair the injuries of time; and of which the drapery is remarkable for its lightneſs; two groups which are baniſhed to a corner, as if they were aſhamed to retrace the unimproving fictions of mythology; two of the adulterous amours of Jupiter, in the pious abodes of catholic kings, a Leda and a Ganymede, who careſs without ſuſpicion the immodeſt birds, whoſe figure the god had aſſumed; and a ſmall figure of Seneca ſeated and wrapped in his mantle. But the antique ſculptures which more particularly merit the attention

attention of connoiſſeurs, and the ſight of which alone is ſufficient to recompence the fatigues of a journey to Spain are the young fawn carrying a kid and the group of Caſtor and Pollux, two original maſter-pieces of antiquity in perfect preſervation, copies of which, in marble, ſtone, and plaiſter are every where found by the ſide of thoſe of the Venus de Medicis, the Laocoon, the Apollo Belvidere, and the Farneſian Hercules.

In an apartment in the gallery the fineſt marbles of Spain, in columns, vaſes, and buſts, ſeem to vie with the productions tranſmitted to us from antiquity; yet notwithſtanding the excellence of thoſe modern performances they only ſerve to render the ſuperiority of the venerable remains of antiquity ſtill more apparent. A ſmall corridor, adjoining to the gallery, contains in piles every thing for which no place could be found in the latter, Egyptian ſtatues, fragments of columns, baſs reliefs, buſts and

and other antiques, conſigned to duſt, deſtructive inſects, and whatever anticipates the ravages of time. It is to be regretted, that a court whoſe ſovereigns know ſo well how to value and encourage the arts, ſhould not have choſen a more convenient place in which theſe precious monuments might be preſerved from the deſtruction by which they are threatened.

Without the caſtle of St. Ildefonſo, proofs of the vigilance of the monarch, and his taſte for uſeful eſtabliſhments, appear on every ſide. His prime miniſter, worthy of ſeconding the beneficent views of his maſter, remarked to him that the country round St. Ildefonſo contained numbers of poor people, women and children, who through want of employment were reduced to lead an idle life, which might ſow the ſeeds of every kind of vice; the monarch immediately eſtabliſhed, not far from his palace, a manufacture in which theſe perſons, until then incapable of ren-

rendering themſelves uſeful, weave and prepare linens of different qualities. The edifice which contains them roſe, as if by magic, at the command of the ſovereign. In 1781, it had not been thought of. A manufacturer at Leon had the mortification of ſeeing government ſtop in its progreſs a conſiderable manufactory, which had been confided to his direction. He was ordered to St. Ildefonſo, and before the month of Auguſt 1783. there were upwards of twenty looms employed in the new manufactory, and two great machines for preſſing and waſhing the linen; this however is but a trifle, compared to what Spain has done, and has yet to do before ſhe can become independent of foreigners with reſpect to theſe articles. Nature has, in this particular, been as kind to her as in all others; ſhe derived advantages from it at the period of her greateſt ſplendor. The Spaniards manufactured all kinds of houſhold linen, and did not import from their neighbours a third of what they do at pre-

preſent. They are now in the way of regaining thoſe advantages, being convinced that Arragon is proper for the cultivation of hemp and flax.

In Biſcay theſe already flouriſh, and in Aſturia, Old Caſtile, and particularly in the kingdom of Granada, of which the hemp and flax are preferable to thoſe which Spain is ſtill obliged to procure from the north for the uſe of her navy, people begin ſeriouſly to meditate ſimilar eſtabliſhments. But Galicia is the only province in which the manufacture of linens is in any very advanced ſtate. This province produces linen for every kind of uſe, ſufficient for its own conſumption, and even ſends ſome to Madrid and into Andaluſia. Let not foreign merchants, however, who ſend linen to Spain be alarmed; were all the provinces immediately to follow the example of that of Galicia, her vaſt colonies, would, for a long time, afford an almoſt inexhauſtible market for the linens

linens of Brittany, Sileſia, Switzerland and Ireland.

Near the new eſtabliſhed manufacture for articles of neceſſity, there is one of luxury, begun in the reign of Philip V. this is a manufacture of looking-glaſſes, the only one of the kind in Spain. It was at firſt only a common glaſs manufactory, which ſtill exiſts, and produces tolerably good bottles, and white glaſs extremely well cut. I purchaſed ſome on which cyphers, letters, and pleaſing landſcapes are ingeniouſly engraved. This was the firſt ſtep towards a far more enlarged undertaking. The looking glaſs manufactory of St. Ildefonſo may be compared with the fineſt eſtabliſhments of the kind; drawings of it may be ſeen in the plates of the French Encyclopédie. The edifice is ſpacious and well contrived; it contains two furnaces and twenty ovens, in which the glaſs gradually cools after having been run. They make glaſſes of all dimenſions, from common ſquares to thoſe

thoſe of the greateſt ſize. They are not ſo clear, and are perhaps leſs poliſhed than thoſe of Venice and St. Gobin; but no manufacture has yet produced them of ſuch large dimenſions. The operation of caſting them is performed with much preciſion. The count d'Artois had the curioſity to be preſent at it; the glaſs run in his preſence was, as well as I can remember, a hundred and thirty inches long by ſixty-five wide, and I was aſſured that there were others which exceeded it in ſize. They are chipped in a long gallery joining to the manufactory, and at the diſtance of a quarter of a league there is a machine put in motion by water, which gives them their laſt poliſh; they are afterwards taken to Madrid, where they are ſilvered. The king has ſome of the fineſt to decorate his apartments; of others he makes preſents to the courts moſt intimately connected with that of Spain.

In 1783, his majeſty added ſome of theſe glaſſes to the preſents he ſent to the

the Ottoman court, with which he had juſt concluded a treaty. It cannot but be highly pleaſing to an enlarged and philoſophical mind to reflect that, notwithſtanding the prejudices of religion and politics which formerly divided nations, the arts have eſtabliſhed between them an exchange of articles of luxury throughout all Europe, and that the beauties of the ſeraglio may admire themſelves in glaſſes fabricated at St. Ildefonſo, whilſt Turkey carpets cover the floors of French apartments. The reſt of the produce of the manufactory of St. Ildefonſo is ſold at Madrid, and in the provinces, for the king's account; but it may eaſily be imagined that the profits are too ſmall to reimburſe the expences of ſo extenſive an eſtabliſhment, which, except the article of wood, is ſo diſtant from all the raw materials it employs. Situated as it is, far inland, ſurrounded by lofty mountains, and at a conſiderable diſtance from any navigable river, it ought certainly to be numbered among the eſtabliſhments.

bliſhments of luxury which proſper near the throne, and contribute to add to its ſplendor.

I was at St. Ildefonſo during the whole time the count d'Artois remained there. The count, as well as all the perſons who accompanied him, appeared extremely ſenſible of the polite reception they met with; and the court, notwithſtanding the natural gravity of its diſpoſition, ſeemed pleaſed to ſee one of the greateſt ornaments of that of France ſubmit to Spaniſh etiquette, to the regular and little varied manner of life habitual to the ſovereign, and rendering, with the cordial warmth of a reſpective and affectionate nephew, his duties to the king his uncle; ſometimes partaking with him the peaceful recreation of fiſhing and the pleaſures of the chace, which, for the monarch of Spain, are almoſt as ſilent as the former, and quietly paſſing the remainder of his time with the amiable nobility of his ſuite, either in the palace of the

or in the hotel of the French ambaſſador. The court remarked, with equal ſatisfaction, the intimate connection formed between two auguſt princes, already of almoſt equal rank, and who mutually to love only wanted to be acquainted; two princes worthy of each other by their frankneſs and loyalty, one the heir to the crown of Spain, and the other the ſecond ſupport of that of France. This attachment which reflected benevolence upon thoſe who ſurrounded them, would have been ſufficient to have deſtroyed the prejudices of the prince of Aſturias (if ever he had any) againſt a nation of which he had not till then been able to judge under ſuch favourable circumſtances. After this agreeable interview, he muſt have believed, that our ſuperficial exterior might poſſibly conceal eſtimable qualities, and that the elegance of our manners excludes none of the virtues which ſubdue the heart and give new luſtre to the graces. I flatter myſelf that the meeting in which the two

princes

princes had an opportunity of forming a judgment of each other, will ſtill more contribute to the glory and happineſs of the houſe of Bourbon, by ſtrengthening the ties by which its two branches ſhould be united. We perhaps do not ſufficiently conſider the influence which the perſonal attachment of two princes deſtined to reign, or to be continually near the throne, muſt have upon the happineſs of nations. How many bloody wars would have been prevented, had ſovereigns, or their miniſters, been known to each other perſonally, and not merely by the falſe light of political negociation and intrigue. Ambition, that unnatural and violent ebullition of the mind, before which the happineſs it purſues perpetually flies, would undoubtedly yield to milder paſſions, more analogous to the natural goodneſs of the human heart; and the effects of that univerſal benevolence which is encreaſed and propagated by being exerciſed would frequently triumph over the frigid calculations of cabinets.

Let us therefore congratulate our philoſophical age, which by extending the taſte for travelling even to ſovereigns themſelves, will by degrees ſee the prejudices that divide courts and empires vaniſh, and perhaps deſtroy the ſource of wars, which were never longer or more bloody than between ſovereigns who ſaw not each other, but through the illuſions of falſe glory, and between whom no interview ever tempered the bitterneſs of national hatred.

The ſtay of the count d'Artois at St. Ildefonſo, which has cauſed and will excuſe this digreſſion, continued a fortnight; his highneſs went afterwards to Madrid. The duke of Bourbon arrived at St. Ildefonſo on the day of the count's departure, and remained there twenty-four hours. Though he travelled under the name of the count of Dammartin, the Spaniſh monarch gave orders that he ſhould be treated as a prince of his family. He was not dazzled by the homage paid to his rank; he was a

Bourbon

Bourbon to none but the king and his family. To all the reſt of the court he was a private individual, whoſe exterior grace, engaging manners and modeſty won every heart. He found the count d'Artois at Madrid; and theſe two princes viſited together the curioſities of the capital, went to the theatre, and were preſent at a bull-fight.

The Caſtilians every where flocked about them, and it was eaſy to perceive that curioſity was not the only motive of the eagerneſs with which perſons of both ſexes, all ranks, and every age preſſed to ſee them. I will, on this occaſion, relate an anecdote trifling in itſelf, but which will ſerve to prove with what circumſpection it is neceſſary to judge concerning a nation with whoſe language and manners we are not perfectly acquainted. When the princes had viſited the palace of Buen-Retiro, their conductors, who knew no language but the Spaniſh, aſked them if they would go and ſee *la China*. Some

of the attendants to the princes thought they were aſked if they were going to China, and laughed at the abſurd queſtion. The truth, however, was, that theſe good people propoſed to them to go to the manufactory of porcelain, which in Spaniſh is called *China*, as ſtuffs which come from Batavia are called after the Dutch colony of that name, and linens made in Sileſia, *Bretagnes*. How many errors in the narratives of travellers ariſe from ſimilar miſtakes!

But leaving the count d'Artois and the duke of Bourbon to continue their journey to the camp of St. Roch, let us now return to St. Ildefonſo, the environs of which have ſtill ſeveral claims to our attention.

At the diſtance of a quarter of a league from this royal manſion runs a little river (the Ereſma) which ſerves for the innocent pleaſures of the ſovereign, and often reflects his image. The banks have on each ſide a cauſeway,

or

or where the ground requires them, there are ſtone or ſod ſteps. It is encloſed between two piles of rocks, grouped in the moſt romantic manner. Its limpid waters ſometimes run tumultuouſly over leſſer rocks in the bed of the river, or precipitate themſelves by natural caſcades, ſometimes forming ſmall baſons which ſerve as aſylums to the trout deſtined to paſs from the hook of his Catholic majeſty to his table. In ſome places this river is ſeparated by little meadows from copſes of green oak, with which that part of the country abounds. In others tufted ſhrubs are ſeen upon the tops of the rocks, or hang waving from their ſides.

Reader, if ever you ſhould reſide for ſome time at St. Ildefonſo, and find yourſelf wearied with the dull magnificence which reigns in the palaces of kings, repair to the banks of the Ereſma, there you will find one of the fineſt Engliſh gardens Nature ever formed; nor will you regret thoſe at the diſtance

of a quarter of a league in which art has diſplayed all its luxury: and you will return more ſatisfied with yourſelf and leſs deſirous of the falſe enjoyments which pomp procures at an enormous expence.

The court of Spain goes once a year to alarm the Naiades of the Ereſma, by the noiſe of a general deer-hunting The rendezvous is upon the banks of this little river, about a league from the caſtle of St. Ildefonſo. Some days previous to the arrival of the court, a number of peaſants are ſent to the neighbouring woods and hills to drive before them the deer with which the country plentifully abounds. The preſcribed limits are by degrees narrowed, until the time fixed for rouſing the game. The ſport then becomes excellent: the deer run in ſmall herds on all ſides, ſeemingly perceiving the danger into which they are driven, after which they face about and endeavour to brave the running fire of muſquetry that threatens

threatens them in the rear; but obeying the impulſes of fear, and failing in their attempt, they paſs in cloſer herds through the fatal defile, where the king, his ſons, and the other princes, placed in ambuſcade, wait their arrival. Their agility now becomes their laſt reſource, and ſaves the greater number. Out of three or four thouſand, and ſometimes more, which thus paſs in review, about a hundred fall. Some remain dead upon the ſpot, others carry away with them the mortal wound, and fly to conceal their agony in the thickets. Their bodies, whilſt yet in palpitation, are brought and arranged upon the field of battle. Theſe are numbered with a cruel ſatisfaction, for which a philoſopher would reproach himſelf, but which it is agreed to pardon in hunters. The whole court, the ambaſſadors and foreign miniſters commonly take part in this amuſement, which is repeated towards the end of every viſit to the Eſcurial. The counts of Artois and Dammartin were invited as they returned from

from the camp of St. Roch, and there appeared as actors. They perhaps would have wiſhed for a leſs eaſy victory over the timid inhabitants of the woods, which they are accuſtomed to chaſe, and not coolly to maſſacre; but the foreſts of Compiegne and Fontainebleau had never offered them thoſe legions of fleet herds, filing off by thouſands before them, and this ſight, perhaps, the only one of the kind in Europe, ſeemed highly to gratify their curioſity.

There is another place to which, during the viſit to St. Ildefonſo, the catholic king goes once to carry thither the noiſe and terror which accompany the chaſe. I mean the environs of Paular, a monaſtery of Carthuſians, at the foot and on the other ſide of the enormous mountains which command the caſtle. During the reſt of the year it is the aſylum of peace and ſilence. The Paular, one of the richeſt convents of the Carthuſians in Spain, is ſituated in a charming valley, watered by a conſiderable

able rivulet, which runs gently through the groves and meadows. This ſtream drives a paper-mill, the noiſe of which is the only ſound repeated by the ſolitary echoes of the neighbourhood. A Frenchman, for in what country is not a Frenchman to be found, manages this manufacture on the account of the monks, and ſeems in this corner of the world to have forgotten both his country and language. We one day recognized each other by that ſpecies of inſtinct by which two natives of the ſame country are reciprocally attracted, who firſt explain themſelves by a ſmile, of which their common language ſoon becomes the interpreter. I had been to viſit the monaſtery of Paular, and had forgotten to provide myſelf with letters of recommendation to the prior. Excluded from this pious aſylum, I expiated my negligence by wandering, without knowing whether I went, and without proviſions, about the monaſtery. My guardian angel, or the genius of the country, conducted me towards the paper-

per-mill; I took the lucky path, and the director of this little manufactory conjecturing I was a Frenchman, accoſted me and offered his ſervice. His interceſſion opened to me the doors of the convent, and procured me proofs of the hoſpitable generoſity of its ſilent inhabitants.

There is nothing remarkable in the monaſtery of Paular, except the great cloiſter in which Vincent Carducho has painted the principal events of the life of Saint-Bruno.

I ſhall now accompany the reader to the caſtle of *Rio Frio* three leagues from St. Ildefonſo. Herds of deer wander in the woods by which it is ſurrounded. Theſe animals, which in general are ſo timid, appear to live here in a ſecurity that excites ſurpriſe in the traveller, and which is diſturbed but once a year, when the king makes them paſs gently in review, and chuſes at leiſure thoſe he means to kill. The caſtle of Rio Frio

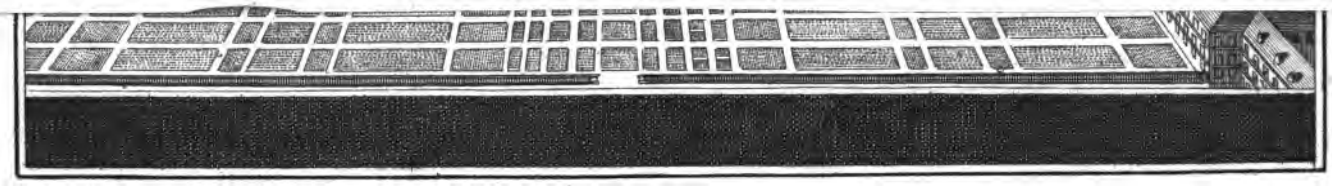
is

is ſituated in an extremely ſandy ſoil. It was built by queen Iſabella of Farneſe, who after the death of Philip V, retired to St. Ildefonſo during the whole reign of Ferdinand VI, ſon of that monarch, but by another wife; and determined to make the caſtle of Rio Frio her laſt abode. That it might recall to her memory the new palace of Madrid, which neither ſhe nor her huſband had the good fortune to reſide in even a ſingle day, ſhe ordered it to be built after the ſame plan, but of leſs dimenſions. Her own ſon Charles III, being called to the throne of Spain by the death of Ferdinand VI, her project of retreat vaniſhed, and the caſtle of Rio Frio was abandoned even before it was finiſhed.

We will now leave St. Ildefonſo and take the road to the Eſcurial. At about three quarters of a league from the caſtle we paſs the Ereſma over a bridge, and arrive at Balſain, a village ſituated in a hollow ſhaded by thick woods. The kings

kings of Spain had formerly a hunting ſeat here, to which Philip V, ſometimes went, and where he conceived the project of building St. Ildefonſo, in this wild country, which promiſed to gratify at once his taſte for ſolitude and for the chace. The French ambaſſador, before the king built his palace at St. Ildefonſo, reſided at this old caſtle. As ſoon as we have paſſed it, we climb for two leagues the tops of the high mountains which ſeparate the two Caſtiles. The road is ſhaded by high pines, the tops of which are frequently loſt in the fogs which riſe from the boſoms of deep vallies. The air becomes inſenſibly colder as we approach the ſummits of the mountains; and when we have arrived at the ſeven points of rocks which, from St. Ildefonſo, have the appearance of an immenſe parapet wall, a new object preſents itſelf to the admiring eye. Before us we view the vaſt plains of new Caſtile, and perceive Madrid conſiderably within the bounds of the horizon over which the ſight wanders to an immenſe diſtance.

We



VIEW OF THE ESCURIAL.

We are here in another country, and find another ſky and a different temperature. The traveller frequently leaves behind him clouds above clouds, to which the mountains ſeem to ſerve as boundaries, and inſtantly paſſes into the moſt ſerene air. The rays of the ſun loſt in the thick fogs he had juſt paſſed through, add colouring and embelliſhment to the proſpect around him. He ſoon precipitates himſelf rather than deſcends from the top of this magnificent belvedere, and at the end of two leagues arrives at the town of Guadarrama, through which paſſes the great road from Paris to Madrid. He croſſes this road to follow that which leads to the Eſcurial, at which the court reſides ſix weeks after leaving St. Ildefonſo.

This famous monaſtery is ſituated at the midway of the aſcent of the chain of mountains which terminate old Caſtile. The choice which Philip V, made of this ſteep ſituation indicates the ſavage and melancholy character which hiſtory

hiſtory gives to that prince. We will not here, however, repeat their cenſures. The Spaniards, even at this diſtance of time, have not yet abandoned him to the cenſure of poſterity as we have our Louis XI, whom he reſembled in more points than one. His memory, beſides, ſeems to command reſpect, at the approach of this royal convent, where we perpetually hear him called *our holy founder*, where his aſhes are depoſited, and where his image every where meets the eye. This foundation, as is well known, was in conſequence of a vow made on the day of the battle of St. Quentin, at which, however, Philip was not preſent. It is known alſo that he dedicated it to St. Lawrence, of whom that day was the feaſt. In Spain it is called by the name of this ſaint *(San Lorenzo)* and every thing in the Eſcurial reminds us of the inſtrument of his martyrdom. It is not only ſeen upon the doors, windows, altars, rituals and ſacerdotal habits, but the edifice itſelf bears its form. It is a quadrangular building

building with the principal front to the weſt, behind which is a mountain; the oppoſite ſide, which faces Madrid, takes the form of the ſhortened handle of a gridiron reverſed; and the four feet are repreſented by the ſpires of four little ſquare towers which riſe above the four angles. I will not undertake with the Abbé de Vayrac and Colmenar, to give the number, no doubt exaggerated by them, of all the doors, windows, courts, &c. of this famous convent. In the whole, it certainly has ſomething awful, but it does not perfectly correſpond to the idea formed of it according to the accounts we have received. Its form did not permit the architect to make the moſt of its vaſt extent; and it is not till we have paſſed the numerous dormitories, and wandered among the courts, ſtaircaſes and galleries that the imagination completes what a firſt view had only ſketched. There is nothing magnificent in the architecture. It has rather that ſerious ſimplicity more proper for a convent than the ſplendid elegance

which announces the reſidence of a great monarch. The front to the weſt alone has a fine portail formed by large columns of the doric order, half ſunk in the wall, and on each ſide two great doors of noble dimenſions. By this portail we paſs to an elegant ſquare court, at the bottom of which is a church. This principal entrance is never open for the kings of Spain and the princes of the blood, except on two ſolemn occaſions. When they come for the firſt time to the Eſcurial, and when their remains are depoſited there in the vault which awaits them. I could not but imagine I perceived the emblem of the gates of life, and thoſe of eternity, which, for the children of kings, as well as for the meaneſt of mortals, open but once and immediately ſhut again for ever.

On this ſide, the door of the church is announced by a fine periſtyle; over the front of which are coloſſal ſtatues of ſix kings of Iſrael, which appear as in equilibrium upon their ſlight pedeſtals.

Theſe

Theſe ſix kings had ſome ſhare in the founding or rebuilding of the temple of Jeruſalem, as we are informed by the inſcriptions upon the baſe of their ſtatues. The two in the middle are David and Solomon, to whom the ſculptor has endeavoured to give the likeneſs of Charles V, and Philip II, his ſon; ſo ingenious has flattery ever been in ſeeking new channels to convey its homage, and turning to its uſe even what ſeems leaſt adapted to its purpoſe.

The front to the ſouth is entirely deſtitute of ornament; but in four ſtories there are nearly three hundred windows. The two great doors of entrance are on the oppoſite front. The whole edifice is built with hewn ſtone of a ſpecies of baſtard granite, which by its colour, become brown with time, adds to the auſterity of the building. The quarry where it was dug is in the neighbourhood of the Eſcurial, and it is ſaid that this was one motive for the choice of the ſituation of the Eſcurial. It furniſhed blocks

of ſuch conſiderable dimenſions, that three ſtones were ſufficient to form the chambranle of the greateſt door-ways, and each ſtep of the principal ſtair-caſe is compoſed but of one.

When the court is not at the Eſcurial, it is but a vaſt convent inhabited by two hundred monks, under the inſpection of a prior. At the arrival of the court the convent is transformed into a palace. The monks are baniſhed to the apartments in the ſouth and weſt ſides, and the principal cells become the habitations of the royal family, and the nobility and gentry of both ſexes, by whom it is accompanied. The king himſelf has his in the narrow ſpace which forms the handle of the gridiron. Philip II, ſeems to have wiſhed to make this a retreat, where ſovereign greatneſs might retire to hide itſelf beneath the ſhade of altars, and become familiarized to its tomb; and his ſucceſſors, faithful to this vow of humility, ſtill content themſelves with the ſame modeſt

deſt habitation. It communicates, by a ſtair-caſe, with the church and veſtry, in which the arts united have diſplayed all their magnificence.

The church is in the form of a Grecian croſs, above which is a dome. The whole building reſts upon pillars, perhaps rather too maſſy, in the interſtices of which are ſeveral altars. The architecture is ſimple but majeſtic. Several ſubjects from holy writ, and ſome ſacred allegories are painted in freſco in the dome, by the magical pencil of Luca Giordano. The great altar, which is aſcended by twenty ſteps, contains three different orders of architecture, one above the other, in the form of a mutilated pyramid: no expence has been ſpared in decoration. Richneſs and elegance are united in the tabernacle. The columns are of the moſt precious marble; the interſtices are filled up with paintings by Lucas Cambiaſo and Pellegrino Tibaldi. Yet the whole has ſomething parſimonious in its appearance, which forms a ſtrik-

ing contraſt with the majeſty of the edifice. It is too lofty for its breadth, and appears to be crammed by force into the narrow ſpace it occupies, as if it had not been erected for the church to which it belongs. But the two monuments which accompany it are really beautiful; theſe perfectly accord with the firſt of the three orders of which it is compoſed, that is doric with fluted columns. The tombs are thoſe of Charles V, and Philip II. Theſe two ſovereigns are on their knees, and ſeem to bow their majeſty before the King of Kings. They occupy the forepart of a kind of open chamber lined with black marble, by the ſide of the altar. There is ſomething at once ſolemn and grand in the two monuments. The ſpectator, while contemplating them, cannot but profoundly reflect on the vain inſignificance of human greatneſs, and the abyſs in which it is ſooner or later ſwallowed up. The tranquillity that reigns around them ſeems to be that of death, againſt which the lords of the earth vainly arm themſelves

ſelves with ſepulchral pride. Theſe reflections become ſtill more ſerious when applied to two ſovereigns, who, during their lives, diſturbed the world with their ambition, and are now condemned to eternal ſilence by the only law which they could not eſcape.

The two neareſt altars to the high altar, are thoſe of the Annunciation and St. Jerome, which have beauties for devotees and goldſmiths. Two great doors, upon which are two indifferent paintings by Lucas Cambiaſo, open and leave the eye dazzled with innumerable relics in vaſes, and caſes of ſilver and ſilver gilt, enriched with precious ſtones. There is alſo a large St. Lawrence of ſolid ſilver, upon the breaſt of which are ſome ſpoils of this Martyr which his diſciples ſaved from the flames. The church contains alſo ſome good paintings by artiſts of the ſecond order, among which are ſeveral apoſtles by Navarette, known by the appellation of the dumb, the fall of the angels, and the martyrdom of

St. Urſula, by Pellegrino Tibaldi. In the two veſtries particularly, maſter-pieces of painting are ſcattered with ſuch profuſion as is capable of fatiguing the admiration even of connoiſſeurs. In the firſt, in which the light is not good, there are three by Paul Veroneſe, one by Titian, two by Tintoret, one by Rubens, and one by Spagnoletto. The principal veſtry contains a ſtill greater number, and would alone be ſufficient to juſtify the fame of the Eſcurial.

I ſhall only mention the paintings moſt ſtriking to eyes leaſt accuſtomed to judge of the productions of the arts. That which has the greateſt effect is the altar-piece, by Claude Coello, a Portugueſe, otherwiſe little known. It retraces a ſcene, of which the veſtry was the theatre. Charles II. accompanied by the nobility of his retinue, is repreſented on his knees before the holy ſacrament, held by the prior of the monaſtery; the monarch went thither publicly to ſupplicate pardon for the profanation

ſanation of a hoſt, lacerated by impious hands, and revenged by a miracle. The holy meditation of the monarch, the appearance of compunction in his features, the attitude of the prior, and thoſe of the monks, by whom he is ſurrounded, and the manner in which ſo many figures are grouped without confuſion, give to the whole of this painting the moſt ſenſible effect; and although it be far from the beſt piece, there is none which leaves a greater impreſſion upon the generality of ſpectators. Real connoiſſeurs, and thoſe who are dazzled by great names, prefer a fine holy Virgin by Guido; two paintings by Vandyck, one the woman taken in adultery, the other St. Jerome naked to the middle, and writing as he is dictated to by an angel, whoſe freſhneſs of complexion produces the moſt agreeable contraſt with the ſallow ſkin of the aged ſaint. A large picture by Tintoret, in which this painter has indulged all the caprice of his imagination, in giving a repreſentation of the Lord's ſupper.

An

An aſſumption by Annibal Carracci; ſeveral pieces by Titian, and two, very admirable for the colouring, one a St. Sebaſtian of the natural ſize, and the other our Saviour diſputing with a doctor of the law; three by Raphael; one called *the pearl*, on account of its ſuperior excellence, is a holy family, in which the infant Jeſus has a grace, a juſtneſs of expreſſion, and an exactneſs of drawing which belongs only to this great maſter; and another the viſitation, in which the modeſty of the Virgin, and her embarraſſment on appearing before Elizabeth with the unexpected and already apparent ſigns of her pregnancy cannot be too much admired.

Leſs celebrated artiſts have alſo contributed to the decoration of the veſtry. I ſhall mention but two: the chevaliers Maxime and Romanelli. The firſt has exhibited the beauty of Guido's forms in the painting where Chriſt diſputes in the temple with the doctors, and the graces and ſweetneſs of the pencil of Albano

Albano appear in that of the latter, the Virgin ſeated careſſed by her holy infant. I cannot leave the veſtry without mentioning a kind of obeliſk in filigreen, ornamented with precious ſtones, concealed behind the fine painting of Claude Coello, and which is never expoſed except at the celebration of the miracle it repreſents. It may be imagined, without my ſaying it, that this veſtry contains, in large drawers, the moſt rich ſacerdotal ornaments, chandeliers, ſacred vaſes and the like, which are greater proofs of the magnificence of the kings of Spain than of their piety.

The ſame obſervation may be made on the pantheon their ſepulchre, to which a door in the paſſage from the church to the veſtry opens. The ſtaircaſe is entirely covered with marble, as is alſo the inſide of the pantheon. This is divided into ſeveral chambers, each of which has its particular diſtinction. One of them is what is called the *podridero*, or the *rotting place*. Here the bodies

dies of the kings and the royal family are deliverd up to the firſt ravages of corruption. The bodies of the princes and princeſſes of Spain, who have not reigned, are depoſited in another. It is in this auguſt and diſmal aſſembly that the duke of Vendôme is placed, like M. de Turenne at St. Denis, among the remains of our kings. Many people are ſtill of opinion, that the firſt of theſe generals was interred in a village in the kingdom of Valencia, where he died. I examined the regiſter of the monaſtery, and found an account of his remains being brought thither, and I afterwards learned, that they arrived at the Eſcurial the 9th of September 1712, and were received by my lord Cotron, captain of the guards of Philip V. and the count de Las Torres; that they were firſt depoſited in the old pantheon, whence they were transferred to that of the princes. The real pantheon ſerves as the laſt aſylum only for the kings and queens of Spain. It ſeems as if they wiſhed to be revenged of death, which

levels

levels all ranks, by making this pre-eminence ſurvive them.

It is impoſſible not to feel a kind of religious awe when we deſcend into this vault, in which deceaſed grandeur ſeems to ſtruggle againſt annihilation? A few rays of half extinguiſhed light with difficulty penetrate this cold abode. To ſupply the defect, a ſuperb luſtre, pendant from the cupola, is lighted up on extraordinary occaſions; but except in theſe caſes the curious are conducted by a flambeau into the middle of the motionleſs and ſilent aſſembly of ſovereigns of both ſexes. By the unſteady light of the flambeau we diſcover, oppoſite the door by which we enter, an altar and a crucifix of black marble upon a pedeſtal of porphyry. The reſt correſponds to this melancholy magnificence. The caſes which contain the bodies of the kings and queens are placed on each ſide the altar, in three ſtories, and in different compartments, formed by fine fluted pilaſters of marble;

ble; the caſes are of bronze, ſimple, yet noble in their form. The pantheon is not yet full, but the empty caſes are ready to open to receive their depoſits. A ſalutary yet terrible leſſon, which kings have not refuſed to receive from the bold deſigns of an able architect.

Philip II. repoſes in the moſt elevated tomb of the firſt diviſion. He it was who laid the foundation of the pantheon; but it was not finiſhed till the reign of Philip IV. as we are informed by the inſcription over the inner door of the ſtair-caſe. It has yet been opened but to two ſovereigns of the houſe of Bourbon, the young king Louis I. who aſcended the throne in 1721, and died the ſame year, and queen Amelia, wife to the preſent monarch; as if the aſhes of two royal houſes, ſo long divided by political intereſt, were ſtill averſe to uniting even in the tomb. Philip V. and his queen are interred at St. Ildefonſo; Ferdinand VI. and queen Barbara

Barbara his wife, at Madrid, in a convent which they had founded.

The following well-known line cannot be applied to this temple of death;

Le temps qui detruit tout en affermit les murs.*

The ravages of time, ſeconded by the damps, has not ſpared even the marble. Here we are at once led to reflect on the frailty of man, whatever may be his rank, and the periſhable nature of his works, which in his pride he dares conſecrate to immortality.

The choir of the monks of the Eſcurial is above the great door of the church, and oppoſite the high altar. The walls are decorated with paintings in freſco, the ſubjects of which have relation to S. Jerome and St. Lawrence. The pulpit, notwithſtanding its enormous ſize, turns upon a pivot with

* Time, which deſtroys all things, has given ſtrength to the walls.

ſur-

ſurpriſing facility. Behind the choir is a maſter-piece of ſculpture; a Chriſt in marble, of the natural ſize; it was executed by Benvenuto-Cellini, by whom the conſtable de Bourbon was killed upon the walls of Rome.

From the ſides of the choir begins a gallery which runs along the two fronts of the church, and communicates by four doors to the firſt ſtory of the monaſtery; it is interſected by ſeveral ſpaces between the joints and pillars which contain a part of the congregation during the time of divine ſervice. Thither I frequently went, that I might be penetrated with the profound ſentiments which enter the minds of perſons, the leaſt devout, at the awful aſpect of a temple. That of the Eſcurial diſpoſes more than any other to ſuch meditations. Its maſs, the ſolidity of which has already ſurvived its founder, who ſleeps within its walls, almoſt two centuries, and will ſurvive him for twenty more; the memory of this imperious mo-

monarch, which for a long time paſt has there received no other tribute than funeral prayers, and whoſe ſhade is ſuppoſed to wander in this melancholy monument of his fear and his piety; the ſound of a hundred voices which make the roofs re-echo with the praiſes of the eternal being; all diſpoſe the mind to ſerious reflection, with which it is a thouſand times more ſatisfied than with vain and giddy diſſipation. Ye who look with envy upon tranſient grandeur, and who wiſh to vanquiſh that reſtleſs ambition which embitters your days and may render them culpable, viſit this temple and reſign yourſelves to meditation; you will find your heart ſoftened and your reaſon fortified; your eyes will be filled with tears, and you will return more reſigned to your fate, more humane and more happy.

On leaving the gallery to go to the royal apartments, we paſs a long coridor, remarkable for the paintings in freſco on the walls. It is called the

hall of battles, becauſe the paintings repreſent ſeveral of thoſe of the ancient kings of Spain againſt the Moors. The perſpective is badly obſerved, but the attitudes, dreſſes and the lively colouring excite the admiration of all connoiſſeurs.

I ſhall not deſcribe a ſmall chapel adjoining to the choir, in which is a large painting of St. Ferdinand, the maſter-piece of Luca Giordano, and a few other middling performances, nor ſeveral other places in which paintings are to be found. The art of fatiguing is that of ſaying every thing.

I cannot, however, avoid mentioning the two great cloiſters: one above, the other below: paved with marble, and of vaſt dimenſions. The paintings in freſco of the lower cloiſter are, perhaps, more extolled than they deſerve. If the connoiſſeur ſeeks the effects of perſpective, and brilliant colouring, he will be deceived in his expectations; but if he admires

admires heads full of expreſſion, and the great and vigorous forms of the ſchool of Michael Angelo, he will return more than once to examine the principal events of the life of our Saviour, painted in almoſt coloſſal figures by Pellegrino Tibaldi, round the cloiſter.

Both the cloiſters are entered by narrow and obſcure coridors. The chief defect in the architecture of the Eſcurial, is that, in general, the principal objects are not ſo placed as to have the beſt effect. The portal is ſeen but by accident; nothing announces the great ſtair-caſe, you arrive at the foot of it before you ſuppoſe it to be near. There is a fine inner court, ornamented with two rows of porticos, of noble architecture; the center is occupied by a ſmall circular temple, with four doors, of which the inner columns correſpond to four ſtone baſons, each as it were under the protection of an angel. This is perhaps the moſt regular piece of architecture in the Eſcurial: but it ſeems

to be wilfully concealed from the eyes of the curious; it is ſeen but from the windows of the two great cloiſters, to which it ſerves as a center; and even then you are in doubt whether it be a court or a garden, for it is divided into four parts, laid out and planted like a parterre.

The great cloiſter below, which has a view into the court, has four principal doors; two of which communicate with the church and veſtry. By a third you enter the capitulary hall, which contains ſeveral paintings by Titian, and one by Velaſquez, repreſenting the ſons of Jacob bringing him the bloody garment of their brother Joſeph. The effect of the perſpective, and the correctneſs of the drawing, in this piece, are admirable; but more nobleneſs of deſign might be wiſhed. A Virgin by Raphael, a St. Jerom by Guerchino, a crowning with thorns by Vandyck, three pieces by Rubens, and three by Spagnoletto are alſo found here. But the pieces moſt

moſt to be admired in the capitulary hall, are three maſterly paintings by Guido; two heads full of truly celeſtial expreſſion, one of St. Peter, the other of St. Paul; and a Virgin ſeated, before whom ſtands the infant Jeſus, in a penſive and fine attitude.

The fourth door, which anſwers to the great lower cloiſter, is that of the old church of the monaſtery. This alſo contains paintings worthy of attention; ſeveral by Titian, among others, the great altar-piece, which repreſents the martyrdom of St. Laurence; three by Spagnoletto, remarkable for beauty of colouring; and one, a wonderful piece, by Raphael, which, for its learned compoſition, its beauty, nobleneſs of deſign, correctneſs of drawing, and every excellence that characteriſes the inimitable talent of this great maſter is ſuperior to all in the Eſcurial. I have ſeen connoiſſeurs view with tranſport, and ſhed tears of admiration, before this ſublime maſter-piece, without theſe de-

licious impreſſions being weakened by a reflection natural enough, on the fantaſtical union of perſons it preſents; theſe are the Virgin Mary, Chriſt, and St. Jerom in a cardinal's habit, reading to them the bible, while the angel Raphael conducts to the feet of the divine group the young Tobit, who comes with a timid air to render the tribute of his fiſh. The laſt circumſtance has given the painting the appellation of *Madonna del Pez* (our lady of the fiſh).

It is inconceiveable how the genius of Raphael could ſtoop to this ſtrange compoſition, which, undoubtedly, was preſcribed him, and yet that the execution ſhould bear no marks of ſuch compulſion. If his exquiſite taſte was not diſguſted by a diſſonance which ſhocks the leaſt delicate one, what becomes of the rules of art, and the precepts of reaſon? After ſuch an example, how is it poſſible not to look upon them as ſo many chains, which genius in its ſoarings may ſhake off with impunity,

punity. Does not it juſtify all the extravagance which fantaſtical or ignorant artiſts have dared to diſplay upon canvaſs, one arming Abraham with a piſtol, with which he is going to ſhoot Iſaac, another repreſenting the Virgin with a chaplet in her hand, and a third introducing our modern artillery in the combat of ſatan and the angels?

Let us now leave the old church of the Eſcurial in which it is eaſy to forget at ſight of the *Madonna del Pez*, that the monaſtery contains other objects worthy the attention of the curious. After having admired the ſuperb piece of Titian (the laſt Supper) which takes up the whole breadth of the refectory of the monks, we will aſcend to the upper cloiſter, the walls of which are alſo ornamented with paintings. There are ſeveral not above mediocrity; but ſome by Luca Giordano are ſeen with pleaſure, as alſo may two or three by Spagnoletto, and one by Navarette, known

by the name of the dumb, and whom Philip II. called the Titian of Spain.

The ſtair-caſe which leads from the lower to the upper cloiſter, muſt not be paſſed over in ſilence. The four ſides of the frize and the cieling are painted in freſco by Giordano, and repreſent the battle of St. Quintin. the accompliſhment of the vow of Philip II. and the arrival of that monarch at the celeſtial court.

On the firſt landing-place of the ſtair-caſe there are little cloiſters, which lead to the library of the Eſcurial, leſs remarkable for the number of volumes it contains than for the choice of them, and more particularly the Arabic and Greek manuſcripts. All the arts concerned in the decoration; and if there be a defect, it is perhaps that of being too much ornamented. Every vacant ſpace is filled with paintings; the ceiling, which is vaulted, is ornamented with Arabeſques, and figures for the moſt part

part coloſſal. Tibaldi, the maſter of Michael Angelo, has here diſplayed the frequently exaggerated vigour of his pencil; his forced attitudes reſemble contortions; his forms are ſo great as to become gigantic and almoſt monſtrous; theſe diminiſh the effect of the whole, by narrowing the fine dimenſions of the library and deſtroying its other decorations. The ſhelves which contain the books, and which are of precious wood, beautifully carved, appear trifling beneath the coloſſuſes of Tibaldi. Above the ſhelves are paintings in freſco by Barthelemi Carducho, which alſo ſuffer from the cauſe already mentioned; the ſubjects are taken from ſacred or profane hiſtory, or have relation to the ſciences of which the ſhelves below preſent to us the elements. Thus the council of Nice is repreſented above the books which treat of theology; the death of Archimedes at the ſiege of Syracuſe, indicates thoſe which relate to mathematics; and Cicero pronouncing his oration in favour of Rabirius, the works

works relative to eloquence and the bar.

The middle of the library is occupied by globes and tables; upon one of the latter is a ſmall equeſtrian ſtatue of Philip IV. upon another, a little temple of ſolid ſilver, ornamented with lapis-lazzuli and precious ſtones. Round theſe are ranged all the anceſtors of the queen Ann of Neubourg, wife of Charles II. up to Charlemagne, who is placed in the center of the temple.

In the intervals between the ſhelves are portraits of Charles V. and of the three Philips his ſucceſſors to the throne of Spain. Ye philoſophers who, after having read what I have written, ſhall viſit this library, ſtop before the portrait of Philip II. painted with great exactneſs by Pantoja de la Cruz; contemplate his grave and auſtere phyſiognomy, and you will read an abridgement of the hiſtory of his reign; but communicate not the reſult of your reflections

tions to the Monks who accompany you, this would be a bad return for the obliging reception you will receive from them. If you have brought with you to the Eſcurial prejudices againſt the Spaniards in general, or againſt the Monks in particular, you will certainly lay them aſide after having paſſed a quarter of an hour with the Jeronymites of this monaſtery; you will be convinced that under the Spaniſh mantle, or even the religious habit, more obliging manners, more complaiſance and more real goodneſs are concealed, than are promiſed by the elegance of a French dreſs. For the truth of what I here ſay, I may appeal to two Daniſh profeſſors, who, a few years ago, were ſent to the Eſcurial to make learned reſearches, and were, perhaps, better received by the Monks, notwithſtanding the difference of their manners, language, and religion, than they would have been at the univerſity of Copenhagen. They were lodged in the convent, and provided with every thing they could wiſh with the moſt generous hoſpitality.

All

All the treaſures of the library were opened to them, and they paſſed two months in examining and making extracts from the manuſcripts which excited their curioſity. They returned home with hearts deeply impreſſed with gratitude, and port-folios enriched with the fruits of their laborious reſearches.

The obliging generoſity they experienced on this occaſion was the more remarkable, as the manuſcripts entruſted to their inſpection are ſtill unknown to the public, except by a few extracts given of them by a learned Monk named Caſſiri. Theſe conſiſt of two volumes in folio, but are far from compleating the extenſive plan the monk propoſed to himſelf. After his death they were conſigned to another of the fathers of the Eſcurial, and the learned impatiently expect the reſult of his labours.

The library of the Eſcurial is open every morning and evening during the re-

reſidence of the court, and the librarians refuſe books to no perſon.

The manuſcripts are not kept in the great library which is open to every comer, but in a large hall above always ſhut up, and to which all the books proſcribed by Spaniſh orthodoxy are ſent. The portraits of ſuch natives of Spain as have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſciences, arts, or in literature are hung round the hall, and the number of the learned in Spain is more conſiderable than our ſupercilious contempt for this nation will eaſily believe.

This contempt may, perhaps, imagine it has found a ſubject for triumph in the library of the Eſcurial, on viewing the books placed the contrary way, ſo that the edges of the leaves are outwards and contain their titles written on them. I have laid it down as a rule, particularly in travelling, never to form my judgment from mere appearances. I aſked the reaſon for this cuſtom; and was

was told that Arias Montanus, a learned Spaniard of the ſixteenth century, whoſe library had ſerved as a foundation for that of the Eſcurial, had all his books placed and inſcribed in that manner, which no doubt appeared to him to be the moſt commodious method of arranging them; that he had introduced his own method into the Eſcurial; and ſince his time, and for the ſake of uniformity, it had been followed with reſpect to the books afterwards added. This explanation proves nothing but the oddity of one man, and an attachment, common to moſt men, to eſtabliſhed cuſtoms eſpecially when in themſelves they are almoſt indifferent.

The large and beautiful ſtair-caſe which leads to the great upper cloiſter communicates with the choir of the Monks of which we have ſpoken, and has a leſſer capitulary hall which you croſs in deſcending to the king's apartment. Thoſe whoſe admiration has not been exhauſted by the noble paintings they

they have juſt ſeen, will remark as they paſs by, an annunciation, by Paul Veroneſe, a nativity, by Tintoret, a deſcent from the croſs, and a St. Margaret, frightened by the apparition of a dragon, by Titian; but more eſpecially one by the ſame maſter, which is called *the glory of Titian*, either on account of its excellence or becauſe it repreſents Charles V. and Philip II. admitted to celeſtial glory, in preſence of the principal patriarchs of the ancient law, with characteriſtic attributes, admirably grouped on each ſide and in front of the painting.

A ſmall cabinet adjoining to this hall contains ſeveral relics, one of the miraculous urns at the marriage of Cana, an old manuſcript of the life of St. Thereſa, written by herſelf, &c.

You afterwards arrive at the ſtair-caſe which leads to the king's apartment, and in the way to it paſs through a kind of gallery hung with paintings. The principal

cipal ones are, a deſcent from the croſs, an exquiſite production of the pencil of Spagnoletto; and a large picture repreſenting Lot and his daughters, which a connoiſſeur would be tempted to attribute to Guido, but which is thought to be by the Chevalier Maxime. Whoever the painter may be it is one of the moſt admirable pictures in the Eſcurial. In a corner of the ſame gallery there are ſeveral others worthy of attention; particularly a ſmall picture by Rubens, in which ſeveral martyrs, and particularly St. Laurence and St. Sextus, are grouped in ſuppliant attitudes round the throne of the Virgin. I ſhould never finiſh were I to give an account of all the curioſities of this kind contained in the Eſcurial, I have, perhaps, already ſaid too much, both for thoſe who will never ſee it and for others who are as well acquainted with it as myſelf. Thoſe who wiſh for a more complete nomenclature of the curioſities of the monaſtery, called by ſome the eighth wonder of the world, may conſult the deſcription in folio given

of

of it by father Ximenez, one of the monks, ſtill living, and travels in Spain by the abbé Pons, a man of ſenſe and learning, and a lover of the fine arts, who has employed a whole volume on this ſubject. What I have ſaid is ſufficient to inform my foreign readers that it is the rich collection of pictures which juſtifies the fame of the Eſcurial, and that if thoſe whoſe devotion has embelliſhed it, ſhould deſpoil it of this part of its riches, if the court ſhould not come to reſide there every year, and bring the train of attendants and pomp which accompanies it, the Eſcurial would be nothing more than a great convent, awful by its maſs and ſolidity, as is the caſe with nearly twenty others in different parts of Chriſtendom.

The narrow terrace on each ſide, whence the eye commands, towards the eaſt, a very extenſive but little varied proſpect, would not be ſufficient to rank it above this claſs. The abbé de Vayrac and Colmenar, particularly ſpeak of its

immenſe park. For my part I ſaw nothing in the environs but woods full of rocky eminences, interſected with meadows, which are ſeldom green, and ſtocked with innumerable herds of deer. There reſults, perhaps, from the whole a more agreeable effect, leſs monotonous and more pleaſing than that produced by the wide walks, ſtars, and obeliſks, ſo much admired in the parks of the ſovereigns of France and Germany; but on the other hand, there is nothing which preſents the appearance of grandeur and magnificence, which we naturally expect ſhould accompany a royal manſion.

From the terrace of the convent you deſcend by ſteps cut in the ſide to a garden not very large, much decorated, nor even carefully cultivated. At the end of the terrace, to the weſt, is a wooden building adjoining to the grand edifice, but of a different kind of architecture. This is perhaps the only part of the Eſcurial where real elegance attracts our notice.

notice. It communicates with it by a gallery which leads to a new building, parallel with the principal front of the convent, and which ſerves as lodging apartments to the houſe of the Infants.

This building, placed immediately at the foot of the mountains which ſhade the Eſcurial, and in the direction of the winds which force their way into the narrow paſſes, contributes to abate their violence. It however does not prevent their effects from being very ſenſible, eſpecially in the ſeaſon which the court paſſes at the Eſcurial. They are the more troubleſome, as they paſs along the front to the north, and impetuouſly ſweep the oblong ſpace which ſeparates it from the apartments allotted to the miniſters, and ſome of the clerks in office, and which you are obliged to croſs to go from the convent to the village. If the exaggerated accounts given to ſtrangers are to be believed,

lieved, theſe furious winds not only ſtop thoſe who paſs, make them ſtagger, and ſometimes throw them down, but they blow with ſuch violence againſt the carriages ſtationed before the palace, that they ſometimes remove them from their places to the great aſtoniſhment of their drivers.

To avoid this inconvenience, and render the communication from the convent to the village leſs troubleſome, a few years ago a ſubterraneous and vaulted gallery of hewn ſtone was conſtructed, which runs under the whole length of the oblong ſpace called *Lonja*. Thoſe who go to the palace may, ſheltered by this impenetrable roof, worthy of royal magnificence, in all weathers, brave the fury of the elements, and diſregard the winds which roar above their heads. The idea is ſaid to have been given by M. de Maſſones, who died ſoon after the gallery was finiſhed, and whom we have ſeen ambaſſador in France,

France, prior to the marquis of Grimaldi.

The ſituation of the Eſcurial renders the walks in the environs painful; you may wander with pleaſure, however, in a valley between the front to the ſouth and a mountain, which oppoſes to it its high and woody top. The inequality of the ground produces every moment new points of view, and favours the rapid fall of ſeveral rivulets which meander through the copſe.

A ſoft melancholy invades us, while we liſten to the diſtant murmurs of theſe rills, which are heightened by the ruſtling of the trees, more frequently agitated by the north wind than careſſed by zephyrs; to theſe are added the hollow lowings of the deer, which, during the ſeaſons of their amours, reſtleſsly wander under their ſhades. This valley is continued by a gentle deſcent from the *Cazin* of the Infant Don Gabriel to that of the prince of Aſturias. Theſe are two little houſes,

each a quarter of a league from the Eſcurial, which are the rendezvous of the two princes for their innocent parties of pleaſure. They are decorated within with more elegance than is expected from their modeſt exterior. That eſpecially of the prince of Aſturias contains within a very ſmall ſpace, the richeſt and moſt highly finiſhed ſculpture, gilding, joinery, and lockſmith's work; the prince has alſo collected a great number of paintings, ſome of which with reſpect to their ſize and ſubject, might be better placed than in this pleaſing habitation, where an amiable luxury ſhould excluſively reign, but which is terrified at the view of the great paintings in which Luca Giordano has diſplayed his fertile imagination, and eſpecially at that of the heads of the apoſtles, the melancholy productions of Spagnoletto, whoſe grave pencil ſeems to have been deſtined to penitentiary ſubjects. We are even leſs at our eaſe in the preſence of ſeveral holy virgins by Murillo, notwithſtanding the ingenuous ſweetneſs of their features,

tures, and the ſoft and delightful colouring which characteriſes the productions of this amiable artiſt. But, undoubtedly, theſe great pictures are only placed there until the prince ſhall have diſpoſed of them in a manner more agreeable to the dignity of their ſubjects. After they are taken away, there will remain a number ſufficient to complete the embelliſhment of this palace in miniature. There are five landſcapes, and other paintings, more analogous to its deſtination. Some copies of the maſterly paintings at Madrid are alſo found here, as well as two ſea pieces by Vernet, of which the king a few years ago made a preſent to his highneſs. We have obſerved in another place that this prince, a lover and patron of the arts, conceived on that occaſion the project of having a cabinet painted entirely by the hand of Vernet, and this cabinet is one of thoſe of the lodge of which we ſpeak. Each of the pannels is a complete painting, one repreſents the ſea violently agitated; another a calm, and a fine

moon-light; a third a fire in the night. Other paintings of leſſer dimenſions fill the narrow ſpaces between the door and the window. The inimitable talent of Vernet is conſpicuous in them all, and if poſterity ſhould be ignorant of their date, they will be thought to be of his beſt productions, although he received his orders for them no longer than four or five years ago. It is however to be regretted that the three principal pieces are placed too low, as well as too near, to be in the proper point of view, without going out of the cabinet which contains them.

The little lodge of the infant Don Gabriel is leſs than that of the prince his brother, and not ſo much ornamented; but the ſame obſervations may be made concerning it. There are three or four of the beſt pieces of Spagnoletto, eſpecially a St. Peter, remarkable for accuracy and expreſſion, though it might be more admired in another place. But who ſhall dare to baniſh from the collection

lection two heads, one by Corregio, the other by Murillo, both raviſhing by their grace and ſoftneſs? The infant Don Gabriel, in whom is united the knowledge of a connoiſſeur and the zeal of an *amateur*, who, not ſatisfied with encouraging the arts alſo cultivates them himſelf, has hung with drawings by the greateſt maſters one of the cabinets of his lodge.

We will now take leave of the rocks and mountains of the Eſcurial, and conduct the reader to Madrid by one of the fineſt roads, but acroſs one of the moſt barren countries in Europe. There is, however, as we deſcend from the hill on which the monaſtery ſtands, a ſmall foreſt which preſents agreeable proſpects. It is pleaſing enough to ſee numerous herds of ſtags, paying but little attention to the noiſe of carriages which paſs, and feeding among horſes and oxen. Travellers might almoſt ſuppoſe that theſe animals were ſenſible of their ſecurity, and that they ſaid to them: We are very timid, but fear you not; an almighty

almighty power watches over our preſervation. They are equally amuſing, when upon a falſe alarm they file off, bounding on their elaſtic feet before the paſſenger whom they challenge to a race. Some ponds, with their uncultivated banks, are ſeen through the trees and inſpire agreeable reveries. Farther on a ſolitary little houſe offers an aſylum to loſt wanderers. This is the farm-houſe of the monks of the Eſcurial, who ſometimes paſs there the hot-days of ſummer. It has a ſimplicity proper to their ſituation, and nothing within it betrays the opulence they enjoy; for the monaſtery is one of the richeſt in Spain. According to a calculation, the exactneſs of which cannot be ſuſpected, their annual revenues amount to upwards of ſeven hundred thouſand livres (above 29,000l.)

After having quitted this foreſt we meet with no more trees until we approach the Manzanares. This very ſmall river runs at ſome diſtance under the heights upon which Madrid is ſituated.

It

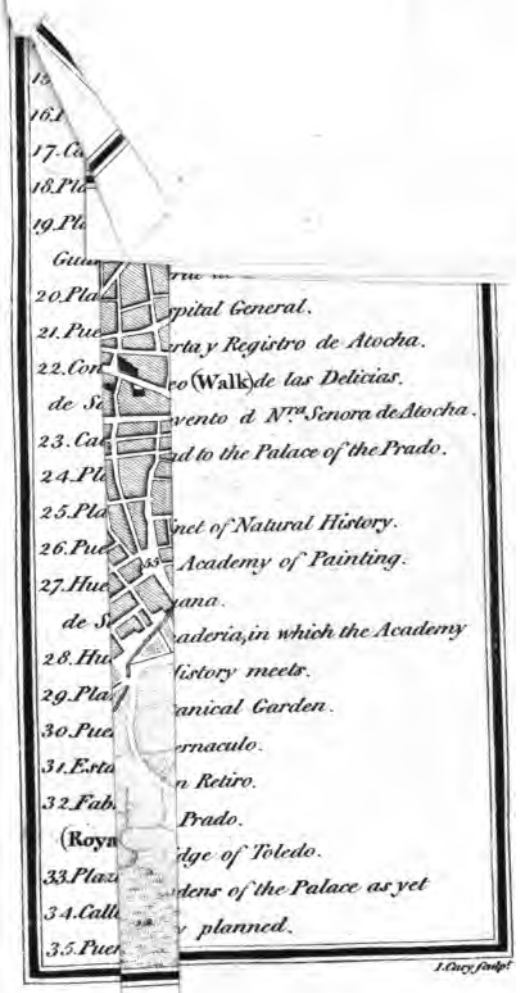
It is almoſt ſhallow enough for carriages to ford over. It has, however, two great bridges, that of Segovia and the bridge of Toledo. The latter, built by Philip II, who was fond of oſtentation, is ſo diſproportioned to the breadth of the Manzanares, that it was pleaſantly ſaid, *that fine bridge only wanted a river.* In paſſing through Spain ſeveral others are met with upon which the ſame obſervation might be made; but the reaſon is thus explained by M. Silhouette, who, before he became miniſter, had travelled in Spain, and having, as well as many others, been ſurpriſed at the apparent diſproportion between the bridge and the river earneſtly ſought to diſcover the cauſe. Spain is interſected in almoſt every direction by long chains of mountains, whoſe ſummits, notwithſtanding the heat of the climate, are frequently covered with ſnow. The rivulets, and little rivers which deſcend from their ſides, have uſually but a ſmall ſtream of water, becauſe droughts are frequent in the provinces through which they run; but

but when abundant rains, or the melting of the ſnow increaſe their little ſtreams, the beds of the rivers are the more extended on account of their not being deep, and of their carrying with them a great quantity of ſand; and according to theſe circumſtances, although not common, the dimenſions of the bridges were calculated. They are ſolidly conſtructed on account of the ſudden riſings of the rivers, and their apparently diſproportionate length is to obviate the inconvenience which might ariſe from an overflowing.

Whole ages and nations muſt not be accuſed of ignorance and ſtupidity, becauſe we cannot at firſt diſcover the reaſon for certain cuſtoms and practices. How many things ridiculous at firſt ſight appear highly reaſonable after a proper examination?

Madrid has a good appearance when approached from the ſide of the Eſcurial. After having paſſed the Manza-

nares,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J. Cary sculpt

nares, we proceed along a part of the fine road, planted with trees, which leads from the capital to Pardo, a royal manſion where the court reſides from the 7th of January to the holy week. There is nothing remarkable in this edifice. The road runs for ſome time along the banks of the Manzanares, and on the oppoſite ſide we ſee an ancient country reſidence of the kings of Spain, around which the large trees cover, to a certain degree, the nakedneſs of the horizon. This is the *Caſa del Campo*, which the laſt kings of the houſe of Auſtria very much frequented, but which has been neglected by thoſe of the family of Bourbon.

The gate of St. Vincent, by which we enter, is new and tolerably elegant. We afterwards painfully aſcend to the palace, which ſtanding alone upon an eminence, without either terrace, park or garden, has rather the appearance of a citadel than that of a place of reſidence for one of the moſt powerful monarchs

in

in the world. But this firſt impreſſion is diſſipated as we approach, and when we have entered the edifice. Its form is almoſt ſquare, and there is a ſpacious court in the middle, around which are large piazzas. The apartments and offices of the principal perſons of the court are upon the ground floor, which they wholly occupy. A fine marble ſtair-caſe, the aſcent of which is perhaps too gentle, leads to the firſt ſtory. The ſides of the ſtair-caſe are decorated with the richeſt ſculpture and architecture.

We afterwards paſs on to the king's apartments, which are of the moſt magnificent dimenſions. The hall, in which the throne is placed, and which is called *ſallon de los reynos*, may be admired even by thoſe who have ſeen the gallery of Verſailles. The different dreſſes of the vaſt Spaniſh monarchy are painted in freſco upon the ceiling by a Venetian named Tiepolo; a ſpecies of decoration which can only have place in the palace of the ſovereigns of Spain. Fine vaſes,

vaſes, little ſtatues, and antique buſts are diſtributed upon all the tables. The reſt of the ornaments are of Spaniſh production. The glaſſes, perhaps the largeſt in Europe, were manufactured at St. Ildefonſo, as well as what is called the Bohemian glaſs, of the window. The tapeſtry of which the figures were copied from good paintings, was made in a manufactory near the gates of Madrid; and the inexhauſtible and variagated quarries of the Peninſula furniſhed marble for the tables.

The apartments adjoining to the gallery are not leſs richly furniſhed. The neareſt is that in which the king dines. The famous Mengs, who has painted the ceiling, the ſubject of which is the aſſembly of the gods and goddeſſes on Olympus, has diſplayed ſuch rich and brilliant colouring, and ſuch graceful forms, as prove him equal in execution to the greateſt painters of Italy. During the ſummer, the portraits of Philip II. Philip III. and his queen, Philip IV. and

and the duke d'Olivarez, all on horſe-back, painted by Velaſquez, and thoſe of Philip V. and the queen Iſabella Farneſe his ſecond wife, by Charles Vanloo, are ſubſtituted for the tapeſtry. It is not neceſſary to be a connoiſſeur to be ſtruck with the aſtoniſhing ſuperiority of the firſt of theſe. The fine form of the horſe of Philip the Fourth, and the animation of his whole body, cannot be too much admired.

The next apartment is that where the king gives audience. The ceiling, which repreſents the apotheoſis of Hercules, is alſo painted by Mengs. This charming painter, whoſe women and children are models of grace and delicacy, does not equally ſucceed in the portraits of men. To render them nervous, he ſomewhat exaggerates their form, and makes them appear rather heavy. His laſt painting, on which he was employed at Rome when the fine arts and his friends were deprived of him by death, is placed in the ſame apartment; it

it is an annunciation. The Virgin has an admirable expreſſion of modeſty and ſweetneſs; neither Corregio nor Albano ever produced any thing more pleaſing. Some of the angels about the celeſtial throne are equally finiſhed. But it is to be wiſhed the angel Gabriel had a countenance and attitude more ſuitable to his meſſage. The Supreme Being has not that ſupernatural grandeur which Guido or Paul Veroneſe would have given him. However, there is in this apartment a large painting by the ſame maſter, which could not have been more highly finiſhed by either of the two latter; this is an adoration of the ſhepherds, in which the men, women and children are equally beautiful and full of expreſſion. His works compoſe the principal decoration of the king's bed-chamber; it ſeems as if the monarch wiſhed to mark the diſtinguiſhed protection he gave to this great painter, by ſurrounding himſelf by his productions. They have all undoubtedly ſome merit, but are eclipſed by a deſcent from

the croſs, which, according to connoiſſeurs, is his greateſt production. The eye is never tired with contemplating the deep and tender grief of St. John, whoſe eyes, wearied with weeping, ſeem to ſhew the ſource of tears to be exhauſted; the ſublime attitude of the Virgin, who expects no comfort for her ſorrows, but from heaven; and the ſofter, but not more affecting affliction of the Magdalen, who preſerves all her charms in the midſt of the general grief ſhe participates. I have frequently heard the colour of the dead body criticiſed. *This Chriſt*, ſaid they, *ſeems to be of ſtone.* I was induced to think the ſame, until one day accompanying ſome foreigners who adopted the criticiſm, I heard one of them exclaim with tranſport in commendation of the truth of the colouring; ſurely, ſaid he, in a low voice, *this painter muſt have ſeen many dead bodies, to have been able to imitate them ſo well.* The author of the reflection was an experienced ſurgeon, who, until that moment, had not opened his lips upon the ſubject.

The

The critics were ſilent, and we recollected the ancient proverb, *ne ſutor ultra crepidam.*

I ſhall not attempt to enumerate all the pictures in the palace of Madrid, an account of the principal ones alone would fill a volume; but I thought the works of Mengs, ſcarcely known except in Spain and at Rome, merited an exception. I ſhall only take notice of a cabinet entirely decorated with porcelain, a curioſity more ſingular than pleaſing, which the *Cicerone* of Madrid wiſhes to have admired, but concerning which it is moſt prudent to be ſilent. We will paſs on to other apartments, where admiration ſtands in no need of being excited.

The chamber, that from the apartment in which the throne is placed, leads to the reſidence of the prince and princeſs of Aſturias, is too much filled with the admirable paintings crowded into it. Among the twelve capital pictures of

Titian, is a Venus blindfolding the eyes of Love; Venus, at her toilette, whoſe image is half reflected in the glaſs; a Siſyphus; a Prometheus; a painting of Adam and Eve, which has for its companion the copy which Rubens diſdained not to make from it; and ſeveral heads all poſſeſſing that exactneſs of expreſſion and colouring which Titian alone knew how to give. Two pictures by Paul Veroneſe, ſeveral by Baſſan, and a Judith by Tintoret, are ſeen with pleaſure in the ſame chamber. The next apartment contains a few by Luca Giordano, among which are a dying Seneca; three or four of the ſchool of Rubens; and Iſaac bleſſing Jacob, whom he takes for Eſau, by Spagnoletto. The dining room of the prince of Aſturias is in like manner hung with pictures; there are ſeveral by Murillo and Spagnoletto, a few by Titian, two by Teniers, and particularly two admirable pieces by Velaſquez, one of which repreſents the forge of Vulcan, the other a Spaniſh general,

general, to whom the keys of a city are given up.

In the adjoining apartments, among a great number of paintings by the firſt maſters, are an adoration by Rubens, and a carrying of the croſs by Raphael, which alone are worth a collection. In the firſt Rubens has diſplayed all the magic of his pencil, his richneſs of drapery, and all the magnificence of compoſition. It is impoſſible not to be ſtruck by the noble air and grandeur of one of the kings. His carriage, attitude, and retinue ſeem to announce him commiſſioned by the univerſe to congratulate its divine author upon an event of ſuch importance to all mankind; he ſeems to command at once reſpect, admiration, and devotion.

The painting of Raphael inſpires ſentiments more affecting, though not leſs profound. The Saviour of the world ſinking beneath the weight of his croſs rather than that of his grief, and preſerv-

ing in the midſt of his perſecutors, who force him along and ill treat him, a reſignation and ſerenity which would diſarm cruelty itſelf, appears leſs concerned for his own ſufferings than earneſt in endeavouring to conſole his afflicted mother, who ſtrives to ſoften his perſecutors, and the ſupplicating women who are overwhelmed with grief. This ſublime conception penetrates the coldeſt hearts with the auguſt truths of religion, and preaches them in a more eloquent manner than that in which they have ever been delivered from the mouths of ſacred orators. The impreſſion which reſults from theſe two great compoſitions, renders the mind almoſt inſenſible to the beauties of other paintings near them, in which Titian, Vandyck and Raphael himſelf have diſplayed leſs affecting ideas. A tribute of admiration muſt however be paid to two maſter-pieces of Corregio, one of which repreſents our Saviour in the garden of olives, and the other the Virgin dreſſing the child Jeſus.

Paint-

Paintings of a different kind in the apartments of the Infanta, daughter to the king, receive a different homage. In the firſt chamber, one by Giordano, in imitation of Rubens, preſents the painter himſelf, working at the portrait of a princeſs; there are alſo ſeveral voluptuous paintings by this maſter of the Flemiſh ſchool; a combat of gladiators, in which the vigour of Lanfranc's pencil is eaſily diſcovered; and a capital piece by Pouſſin, the ſubject of which forms a ſingular contraſt to the devotional paintings of which we have already ſpoken. This is a dance formed by a troop of nymphs about the ſtatue of the god of gardens; the variety of their attitudes, all expreſſive and graceful, their eaſy ſhape and the beauty of their form, all breath the pleaſures of youth and love; ſome crown with garlands the ſtatue of the laſcivious god, others——But we will draw a veil over this part of the painting, which the modeſty of the painter has purpoſely placed in the ſhade.

The

The adjoining apartments are filled with paintings of leſſer merit, if we except a grand compoſition by Paul Veroneſe, and a piece by Lanfranc, the figures of which, although a little tinctured with grimace, diſcover in them the vigorous and energetic touch of the painter. The dining-room of the Infanta is highly embelliſhed by the indefatigable pencil of Luca Giordano, whoſe fertile imagination at firſt aſtoniſhes, but afterwards becomes fatiguing. In a cabinet adjoining to the dining-room are alſo ſome pieces by Rubens; for this painter, who was twice in Spain, left there, perhaps, more productions of his brilliant and eaſy pencil, than any where elſe. This cabinet contains likewiſe one of the beſt portraits Titian ever produced; that of Charles V. reaching to below the knees. An engraving was lately made from it by a young engraver of Madrid, named Selena, who promiſes to become an excellent artiſt.

The

The apartments of the Infanta contain as great a number of admirable paintings as thoſe already mentioned; ſome are by Murillo, and ſeveral by Rubens, which abound in fire and expreſſion. With theſe I ſhall conclude my liſt, leaſt I ſhould fatigue my readers with a barren catalogue which can only excite diſguſt; it is ſufficient to remind them, that according to the opinion of thoſe who have ſeen the different collections of the ſovereigns of Europe, there is no one which is ſuperior to that in the palace of Madrid, either with reſpect to choice or number.

It is true there are but few paintings of the French ſchool, but the beſt productions of thoſe of Italy, Flanders and Spain are found in abundance; thoſe of the latter eſpecially, leſs known than the two others, although of equal merit, are worthy of all the attention of connoiſſeurs; they perhaps may not excel in nobleneſs of form, or in grace, but whoever has ſeen the productions

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of Spagnoletto, Velaſquez and Murillo, both at Madrid and in the Eſcurial, cannot but admit that the Spaniſh ſchool is not inferior to any other in correctneſs of deſign, the art of perſpective, and eſpecially in the vivid carnation of its colouring.

The chapel of the palace contains nothing remarkable of this kind, but its architectural proportions are exact and beautiful; and what more particularly contributes to its decoration, are ſixteen columns of black marble, which extend to the frieze. It is to be regretted that in order to procure this number, the eight blocks which were whole, have been perpendicularly ſawn. However, as by their poſition they were not to ſtand without ſupport, they are placed againſt the wall, in which they ſeem to be half ſunk.

The palace of Madrid is entirely new. That which Philip V. inhabited, having been burned, the monarch wiſhed to have

have it rebuilt upon the ſame foundation. An architect, from Piedmont, laid before him a moſt magnificent plan, the model of which is preſerved in a neighbouring building. Philip V. was deterred by the expence neceſſary to carry the plan into execution, and adopted one more ſimple. But it is to be regretted that the palace, in its preſent ſtate, coſt as much as that of the Italian architect would have done, and yet it is not finiſhed. When I left Spain two wings were building to it, which will give to the whole a more majeſtic form, but muſt hide the principal front in ſuch a manner as to render it inacceſſible, except from a great ſquare, that can never be made regular, without an enormous expence. At the end of the ſquare is a large edifice, not ſufficiently ſeen, which contains a curious collection of ancient and foreign arms, arranged with great order and carefully preſerved.

This is called the *Armeria*, or arſenal. The moſt remarkable things here are neither

ther cimeters ſet with diamonds, nor complete ſets of armour, not even that of St. Ferdinand; but thoſe of ancient American warriors. A long enumeration of all theſe curioſities is carefully made to the traveller, when he is admitted into the arſenal, for which he muſt have an order from the grand equerry, and if he be a Frenchman, even the ſword worn by Francis I. at the battle of Pavia, is not forgotten. Neither Philip V. nor Ferdinand VI. ever reſided in the new palace of Madrid; Charles III. came not to it until ſome years after his arrival in Spain. Theſe three monarchs had confined themſelves to that inhabited by the Auſtrian family, in which Philip II. endeavoured to overturn the ſyſtem of Europe, whence Philip V. calmly ſaw his vaſt empire diſmembered, where the weak Charles II. learned that the powers of Europe previouſly divided it as a vacant heritage, where the famous princeſs des Urſins played off and repelled the intrigues to which ſhe at length became a victim, and whence Phi-

tures ;

STATUE OF CE OF PHILIP IV.
at Buen-Re Buen-Retiro.

Phi-

Philip V. ſent armies into Italy to conquer the Parmeſan and the kingdom of Naples, and in which he died.—I mean the palace known to foreigners by the name of *Buen Retiro.*

This palace is ſituated upon an eminence, at the extremity of the city. Never had a royal manſion leſs the appearance of a palace. It is a very irregular building, and exhibits nothing majeſtic in any one point of view. It contains, however, a long ſuite of apartments, which, at a ſmall expence, might be made habitable. The gardens into which they have a view are neglected. The want of water, and the nature of the ſoil render them little ſuſceptible of embelliſhment. There are a few ſtatues worthy of the attention of the curious; that of Charles V. trampling upon a monſter, which is ſuppoſed to be the emblem of hereſy; and an equeſtrian ſtatue of Philip IV. by an able ſculptor of Florence. The palace of Retiro contained alſo many valuable pictures;

tures; but the greateſt part of them have been removed to the new palace. Some very valuable pieces however ſtill remain; a few by Rubens, ſeveral by Giordano, and portraits of princes and princeſſes of the two laſt families. The moſt remarkable piece is that called the *Caſon*, not on account of the rich gilding with which it is overloaded, but becauſe all the pannels of the inner balcony are painted in freſco by the fertile pencil of Luca Giordano. The ceiling is one of the nobleſt paintings of this artiſt. It repreſents allegorically the inſtitution of the order of the golden-fleece.

I ſhall mention only two other paintings in this palace. One of Philip V. ſeated by the ſide of his wife Iſabella of Farneſe, and ſurrounded by all his family of both ſexes. The monarch is forgotten; nothing appears but the good father of a family. It is extremely affecting to ſee, united in the ſame piece, ſo many princes and princeſſes, who have had an influence on the deſtiny of Europe,

rope, and who, laying aſide the ſplendour of majeſty, ſeem to be wholly employed in enjoying the happineſs of ſeeing themſelves aſſembled. Charles Vanloo perhaps, erred in diſplaying too much magnificence in the decoration of the hall. The figures he has painted have a paleneſs from the too brilliant colour of the furniture.

The other picture is leſs remarkable from the merit of its compoſition than from the ſcene it preſents. This is a faithful repreſentation of the ſolemn *Auto da fé*, which was celebrated in 1680, in the Plaza Mayor of Madrid in preſence of the whole court of Charles II. It is equal to an exact deſcription of this feſtival, the laſt of the kind which has been celebrated in Spain. The balconies appear full of ſpectators, excited equally by devotion and curioſity. The fatal tribunal is raiſed in the middle of the ſquare. The judges there wait for their victims, who pale and disfigured, covered with melancholy emblems of the tor-

ments

ments prepared for them, go to hear their ſentence. Some receive the laſt exhortation of the monks, others tremble, ſtagger and faint upon the ſteps of the tribunal, and all ſhew greater marks of terror than of repentance. How many reflections muſt naturally ruſh on the mind of the ſpectator; I paſs them over in ſilence, becauſe I have forbidden myſelf all declamation. But let us now turn our attention from theſe afflicting objects, and direct it to the temple of Thalia.

The theatre of Buen-Retiro is ſtill in good preſervation: the houſe is ſmall but well contrived. The ſtage, which is ſpacious, opens at the bottom into the gardens of the palace, with which it is on a level, this was frequently favourable to theatrical magic, in extending the perſpective and permitting the diſplay of bodies of troops and ſometimes a train of cavalry. All theſe illuſions are vaniſhed; the theatre is deſerted, and its decorations are covered with duſt. In the reign

of

of Ferdinand VI, it reſounded with the moſt harmonious voices; it is now condemned to ſilence, which for twenty years has been but once interrupted. This was at the marriage of the princeſs of Aſturias. Thus do courts change their appearance according to the taſte of the ſovereign. That of Ferdinand VI, brilliant and oſtentatious, naturalized in Spain the fairy ſcenes of the Italian theatre under the direction of Farinelli the muſician, who owed to his talents a diſtinguiſhed favour, at which no perſon murmured, becauſe no perſon ſuffered by it, and becauſe that he modeſtly enjoyed without abuſing his good fortune: Under Charles III. Euterpe and Terpſichore have loſt their influence: the monarch, more ſimple in his manners, more uniform in his taſte, and inſenſible to profane pleaſures, has baniſhed them from his reſidence, and confines himſelf to the protection of the ſilent arts, the ſciences and virtue. His favour, ſtill better placed than that of his

predeceſſor, can neither irritate the envious nor give offence to the weak.

The gardens of Buen-Retiro are at preſent a public walk. The monarch has eſtabliſhed there a China manufactory, which hitherto ſtrangers have not been permitted to examine. It is undoubtedly intended that experiments ſhould be ſecretly made, and the manufacture brought to ſome perfection before it is expoſed to the eyes of the curious. Its productions are to be ſeen no where except in the palace of the ſovereign, or in ſome Italian courts, to which they have been ſent as preſents. Certain kinds of inlaid work not yet much known in Europe are wrought in the ſame edifice. I entered one day, under the protection of a foreigner of diſtinction, in whoſe favour the king had for a moment ſuſpended the rigorous prohibition which excludes every one. I obſerved with what patience and addreſs ſeveral ſmall pieces of coloured marble were cut and joined

joined, to form pleaſing and not a little complicated figures. This art, whilſt it produces nearly the ſame effect as painting, has the advantage of having, by its everlaſting colours, overcome the ravages of time, which ſpare not the fineſt productions of the pencil. The gardens of the Retiro are in other reſpects little ornamented, and almoſt abandoned. In recompence, however, Charles III. has richly embelliſhed the environs.

This ancient palace commands a public walk, which has long been famous in Spaniſh comedy and romance: at firſt, indeed, theſe alone were what gave it celebrity. There was nothing remarkable in the place itſelf: its reputation roſe from what paſſed in it. Meaſures were there concerted to deceive the vigilance of a mother or the jealouſy of a huſband. The courtiers, eſcaped from the preſence of the monarch, perhaps, came thither to watch a rival, prepare a plot, or diſconcert an intrigue. The proximity of the palace, the obſcurity

and inequality of the ground were all favourable to theſe purpoſes: the Prado was a rendezvous equally convenient to ambition and malignity, but more particularly ſo to love: thoſe who appeared there had generally ſome ſiniſter deſign or encountered ſome hazard; but Charles III. by levelling it, planting it with trees, admitting more light into the alleys, ornamenting it with ſtatues and vaſes, and providing water to allay the duſt, made it a moſt elegant walk which may be frequented in all ſeaſons with ſafety and pleaſure. It forms a part of the interior incloſure of the city, and is in length about the ſpace of half a league. Several of the principal ſtreets terminate here. That of Alcala, the wideſt in Europe, croſſes it, runs by the ſide of the gardens of the Retiro, and terminates at the gate of the ſame name, which is one of the fineſt pieces of architecture in the capital, and built in the preſent reign, in 1778. The inhabitants from all quarters reſort hither on foot or in carriages to meet and breathe beneath the ſhade of the long alleys, an

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air freſhened by waters ſpouted from the fountains, and embalmed by exhalations from the fragrant flowers. The concourſe of people is frequently prodigious. I have ſometimes ſeen four or five hundred carriages filing off in the greateſt order, amid an innumerable crowd of ſpectators; a ſpectacle which at once is a proof of great opulence and population. But a better taſte in the carriages might be wiſhed for, and a greater diverſity for the eye. Inſtead of that motley appearance of dreſſes, which in other public places of Europe afford a variety without which there would be no pleaſure, there is nothing ſeen in the Prado but women uniformly dreſſed, covered with great black or white veils, which conceal a part of their features; and men enveloped in their great mantles, moſtly of a dark colour; ſo that the Prado, with all its beauty, ſeems to be the theatre of Caſtilian gravity.

The botanical garden adds not a little to the embelliſhment of the Prado; it

was formerly upon the road which leads from Madrid to the caſtle of Prado; but Charles III. a few years ago removed it to the ſide of the Prado with a low incloſure, by which it is ornamented without being hidden. This monarch is endeavouring to make it one of the moſt precious collections of the kind, by laying under contribution all the vegetable kingdom of his dominions, ſome part of which it has been long ſaid, is perpetually warmed by the rays of the ſun, and which in ſuch different ſoils and climates muſt alone produce every kind of tree, ſhrub, and plant which grows on the boſom of the earth.

While viewing the Prado I have frequently given to this idea the greateſt poſſible latitude; I have even extended it to the animal kingdom; I have allotted in imagination all the ſpace which the botanical garden leaves vacant by the ſide of the walk to a deſtination certainly extraordinary in Europe, and which the monarch of Spain only could be capable of

of carrying into effect. I divided it into as many parts as this ſovereign has principal colonies under his dominion; in theſe I ſettled, in ſuppoſition, a family of Peruvians, another of Mexicans, another from Calefornia, another from Louiſiana, another from Paraguay, from Buenos Ayres, the coaſt of Caracas, from Porto Rico, from Cuba, from the Canaries and the Philippines. All to preſerve their peculiar dreſs and manner of living, to erect a ſimple habitation upon the model of that they had quitted; to cultivate the plants brought from their own country; ſo that ſurrounded by theſe pleaſing illuſions they might ſtill ſuppoſe themſelves in their native ſoil. Here the Mexican would be ſeen beneath the ſhade of his fig-tree, ſhaking it and gathering the precious ſpoils which colour our European garments; there the inhabitant of Guatimala would cultivate his indigo; and he of Paraguay the herb which conſtitutes his principal riches; the native of Soconuſco would attempt to naturalize his valuable cocoa-tree in

a foreign ſoil; the Peruvian, accompanied by the docile animal, which partakes of his labours, feeds and clothes him; would in concert with the Luconian endeavour to introduce the ſame cultivation they had been accuſtomed to at home. Thus the exulting inhabitant of the metropolis, without going from the capital, might paſs in review, as if delineated on a map, all the colonies to which his ſovereign gives laws. The tranſported coloniſt would become accuſtomed to an exile, which every thing would concur to render agreeable; and his fellow citizens, ſeparated from him by immenſe ſeas, informed by him of the benevolence and magnificence of their common monarch, would form a higher idea of his power, pride themſelves upon being his ſubjects, and become more attached to his government. Who knows but theſe firſt eſſays would make them form a more favourable opinion in general of the mother country? That in accuſtoming themſelves to ſee in the Spaniards of the old world, their countrymen, inſtead

ſtead of their oppreſſors, they would not ſtrive to approach them nearer? and that Spain formerly depopulated by her colonies would be repeopled by them, or at leaſt in this community, acquire new ſecurities for their love and fidelity.

Such a project may be conſidered as romantic, yet the king of Spain has entered upon one of the ſame kind which proves his zeal for the advancement of the arts and ſciences. In the ſtreet of the Alcala is a large building in which the king has eſtabliſhed a cabinet of natural hiſtory, which was firſt committed to the direction of Don Pedro Davila, who died ſince I left Spain; he was ſucceeded by Don Eugenio Izquierdo whom we have ſeen at Paris. The inſtitution over which he preſides, cannot but proſper under his auſpices; his indefatigable zeal and knowledge inſure ſucceſs. The cabinet already contains one of the completeſt collections in Europe in metals,

tals, minerals, marble, precious ſtones, corals, madrepores, and marine plants.

The claſſes of fiſhes, of birds, and eſpecially of quadrupeds, are yet very incomplete; but the meaſures taken by government will in a little time make them equal to the others. The viceroys, governors, intendants, and other officers of the Spaniſh colonies received orders ſome years ago to enrich the cabinet with all the productions which ſhould offer to their reſearches in the three kingdoms; and the intelligence and activity of the miniſter who preſides over the department of the Indies, gives the moſt flattering hopes to the lovers of theſe ſciences that the orders will be faithfully executed. The miniſter laſt year received an ample contribution from Peru: this was half the rich collection made during an eight years reſidence in that country by Mr. Dombey, an able naturaliſt, whom the court of France, with the conſent of that of Spain had

ſent

ſent thither, and whom the patrons of the ſciences received upon his return with all that reſpect which talents, accompanied by modeſty, muſt inſpire. He left at Peru ſeveral Spaniſh naturaliſts, who were ſoon to follow him, and whoſe learned reſearches will greatly contribute to enrich the cabinet of natural hiſtory at Madrid.

The ſame edifice that contains this cabinet, and which with the cuſtom-houſe, built alſo by Charles III. conſtitutes the principal ornament of the ſtreet of the Alcala, is the place of meeting for the academy of the fine arts; a circumſtance which produced the inſcription on the building, a motto equally happy and juſt.

Carolus III. naturam et artem ſub uno tecto conſociavit.

The honour of inſtituting this academy is, however, due to Philip V; but it has received great encouragement from his

his two ſucceſſors. The miniſter of foreign affairs is preſident, and every three years diſtributes premiums to the young ſtudents who have produced the beſt pieces in ſculpture or painting, and the beſt plans and deſigns in architecture. But though there are ſeveral members who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in theſe three arts, it muſt be confeſſed that their works of real excellence are yet but very few in number.

I was twice preſent at the diſtribution of premiums and cannot but confeſs that they ought rather to be looked upon as encouragements than merited rewards. The Spaniards are too juſt to expect unlimited encomiums; their pride would indignantly refuſe the degrading homages of adulation. They, however, maintain at Rome young ſtudents, who give the moſt flattering hopes; and from what was ſeen of the productions of Don Franciſco Aguſtin and Don Ramos at the laſt exhibition, there is no doubt but theſe artiſts may

ſoon be claſſed with the beſt painters of France and Italy.

It is not only by forming artiſts that the academy contributes to the progreſs of the arts in Spain; it is alſo the ſupreme tribunal to whoſe deciſion the plans of all the ſacred and profane edifices erected in the kingdom are to be ſubmitted; an inſtitution which in the end muſt eſtabliſh fine taſte upon the ruins of that barbarity which is but too viſible in moſt of the edifices of former times, and of which traces ſtill remain in ſome of the gates, in the ancient fountains, and in moſt of the churches in the capital; deformed efforts of art, then in its infancy, which took more pains to bring forth monſtrous productions than would be neceſſary at preſent to produce works of tranſcendant merit. Modern edifices already prove the revolution that has taken place under the houſe of Bourbon. Beſides the new palace of Madrid, we may inſtance in the gates of the Alcala and St. Vicente,

the

the cuſtom-houſe, and the poſt-office; except theſe, there are but few buildings which merit attention from the traveller.

Madrid is in general well laid out; the ſtreets, although not in a direct line, are for the moſt part wide, and tolerably ſtraight. The infrequency of rain, and the vigilance of the modern police, for which it is indebted to the count d'Aranda, make it one of the cleaneſt cities in Europe. But except the Prado and its avenues, the city has no elegant quarters to boaſt. The famous *Plaza Mayor*, which the Spaniards take ſo much pleaſure to extol, has nothing in it which juſtifies their enthuſiaſm; it is quadrangular, but at the ſame time irregular, ſurrounded by buildings of five and ſix ſtories, ſufficiently uniform, but without decoration, under which are long arcades. It is illuminated on public occaſions, and then it really has an agreeable appearance. The *auto da fés* were formerly celebrated in this

ſquare,

ſquare, with all their terrible apparatus. It is ſtill the theatre of bull-fights which are given at the royal feaſts. The hotel de ville, or town-houſe, is in this ſquare, in which ſeveral academies hold their aſſemblies. This concurrence of circumſtances has made it the moſt remarkable public place in the capital, and has given it a reputation which, at the time it was firſt built, was perhaps deſerved, but which muſt have vaniſhed ſince architecture has improved in Europe, and produced forty ſquares preferable to the Plaza Mayor. The Spaniards, however, ſhould reſpect this reputation, and at leaſt not diſhonour their ſquare by the hideous ſcene of executions, nor keep in it their principal market, and thus reduce their *place Vendome* *, to the level of that of the *Greve* †, and *place Maubert* ‡. In

* An elegant ſquare in Paris.

† The place of execution in Paris.

‡ A mean ſquare in the fauxbourgh St. Marcel, which is the St. Giles's of Paris.

other

other reſpects, this with the adjacent ſtreets, is the quarter which gives the moſt favourable idea of the population of Madrid; and if we judge of it by this ſpecimen, we ſhall not find the calculation which makes it amount to one hundred and ſixty thouſand inhabitants exaggerated *.

The ſacred edifices have nothing remarkable in their architecture; thoſe of St. Paſqual, St. Iſabella, and the Carmelites contain highly valuable collections of pictures which may be ſeen with admiration even after the paintings of the Eſcurial, and the new palace!

* Doctor Moncada, who wrote at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, complained of the depopulation of this city, which, according to him, contained no more than four hundred thouſand inhabitants. What would he ſay at preſent? Uſtariz, whoſe work was written at the beginning of the preſent century, and which is quoted by the Spaniards for the exactneſs of its calculations, aſſigns to Madrid only a hundred and eighty thouſand inhabitants.

The

The church of St. Iſidro, which heretofore belonged to the Jeſuits, has a portal which has eſcaped the contagion of the age in which it was built. There is another church much more modern, which on account of its maſs has a venerable appearance, but which true taſte may juſtly diſavow: it is that of St. *Saleſas*, or the viſitation, founded by Ferdinand VI. and the queen Barbara his wife. The aſhes of this royal pair repoſe here, under a pompous mauſoleum, the inſcription of which appeared to me a model of the lapidary ſtyle; the Spaniards themſelves have expreſſed their diſapprobation of the whole edifice by theſe words: *Barbara reyna, barbaro gaſto; barbara obra*; a play upon words that can have no meaning but in the Spaniſh language, in which the expreſſion *barbara* is equally applied to the name of the foundreſs, to the bad taſte of the edifice, and to the enormous ſum it coſt in building, It has, however, one laudable object which ſhould intitle it to more indulgence. A certain number

of young ladies are there educated, at the king's expence.

The convent of St. Francis has already been ſome years building, and there are hopes that it will become one of the fineſt productions of architecture in the capital. What already appears of it ſeems to promiſe a ſolid rather than an elegant edifice. The church, in the form of a rotunda, was finiſhed when I left Spain: it was already decorated with many large pictures, ſeveral of which could not but encreaſe the reputation of the Spaniſh ſchool. The preſent principal ſupporters of that ſchool are M. Maella and M. Bayeux, whoſe colouring and taſte in drawing reſemble the ſtile of Mengs, and in ſome manner recompence the Spaniards for the loſs of that great painter. Don Franciſco de Goye merits alſo by his talents an honorable mention; he pourtrays in a pleaſing ſtile, the manners, cuſtoms, and games of his country.

try. There are alſo ſeveral excellent engravers.

Don Salvador Carmona, married to the daughter of Mengs, who has in part inherited the fine pencil of her father, is deſervedly to be placed at their head. Mr. Carmona is advantageouſly known in France by ſeveral prizes gained in the academy of painting. Were we to judge his works critically, it might be obſerved, that his talents too little, or at leaſt too late, encouraged have not produced what they at firſt promiſed. Several other engravers, Meſſieurs Ferro, Muntaner, Fabregat, Balleſter, and eſpecially M. Selma, have by happy efforts proved that their art ſtill makes ſome progreſs in Spain.

The academy of the Spaniſh language, which in the year 1780 gave an elegant edition of Don Quixote, enriched it with the embelliſhments of the graver. But the engravings, for the moſt part not above mediocrity, do not anſwer to

the merit of the edition, equally admirable for the quality of the ink, the beauty of the paper, the clearneſs of the character, and to be compared with the fineſt productions of the kind in any other nation. This is not the firſt proof the Spaniards have given of their ability in the art of printing. Every connoiſſeur is acquainted with, and prefers to the editions of Baſkerville and Barbon, the Salluſt, which the Infant Don Gabriel has tranſlated into his own language, and ſome other works from the preſſes of Ibarra at Madrid, and from thoſe of Benedict Montfort at Valencia, which are maſter-pieces of the typographical art, and will one day be ſought after by poſterity, as we now ſearch for thoſe of the Elzevirs.

If the pleaſing arts be cultivated at Madrid, the moſt uſeful of all, that of beneficence, is not neglected. Charitable foundations worthy to be models to every nation, are found in that city. There are three hoſpitals, which in the courſe

courſe of the year 1785, received 19437 ſick perſons. The principal hoſpital near to, but on the outſide of the gate Alcala, has been lately rebuilt. It is a large edifice, which by no means diſgraces the walk leading from this gate to the canal of Aranjuez, and which the Spaniards have eſtimated rather too highly in honouring it with the name of *Delicias*.

Beſides theſe three hoſpitals there are three confraternities, the revenues of which are appropriated to the ſuccour of the wretched, and an inſtitution ſimilar to the *Mont de Pieté* in Paris, the principal object of which is to advance money to the neceſſitous. There are alſo other academies beſides that of the fine arts. We can ſay but little of thoſe of law and phyſic; but every one has heard of that of the Spaniſh language, founded by Philip V, and which our French academy has conſidered, ever ſince its eſtabliſhment, as its ſiſter. The dictionary it has given to the public, is, according

to the ableſt grammarians, the compleateſt that ever appeared in any language. The preſent academicians, more learned than their predeceſſors, and not leſs laborious, are preparing a new edition of it, which by the augmentations to be made, will give an idea of the richneſs of their language, and of the great extent of their reſearches. The Abbé de Guevra, one of the moſt learned and zealous, has already publiſhed an extract in folio, which has abated the public impatience, and may ſerve for daily uſe.

The Spaniſh academy is compoſed but of twenty-four ordinary members; but the number of ſupernumeraries is not limited; the preſident is a grandee of Spain. The preſent preſident is the marquis de Santa Cruz, whoſe learning is no leſs an honour to the ſociety than his rank. It contains ſeveral poets, painters, and men of letters, for whom the chair has not that ſoporific virtue attributed to it elſewhere; and I know not

not one member who has been admitted from the vain motive of conferring an honour in a manner foreign to the end of its inſtitution.

The academy of hiſtory has for its director the count de Campomanes, who, by the rank he holds in the magiſtracy, as well as by his great erudition and virtues, is one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed noblemen of modern Spain. It is much to be regretted that the functions of his eminent ſtation leave him but little leiſure to dedicate to the different academies of which he is a member. That of hiſtory has happily ſeveral others, who, animated by the ſame zeal, may attach themſelves to it with leſs reſerve. It has, within theſe few years, publiſhed editions of ſeveral authors, which are a proof of this. Among others, thoſe of Mariana and Sepulveda. It is preparing one of Solis, of which one volume has already appeared. It has undertaken, and executed in part, a taſk equally intereſting and arduous,

that of publiſhing all the ancient chronicles relative to the hiſtory of Caſtile. Several of theſe works had never been printed; all are enriched with notes and commentaries, which at once prove the ſound criticiſm and the erudition of their authors, the Abbé de Guevara, Don Franciſco de Cerda, Don Miquel Florez, and Don Eugenio de Laguno, who, in the midſt of the occupations of his place of firſt clerk in the office of foreign affairs, ſtill finds ſome moments to dedicate to literature. The academy contains one of the moſt valuable collections of which a literary ſociety can boaſt. This is all the diplomas, charters, and other documents given ſince the earlieſt period of the monarchy, to all the cities, boroughs, communities, churches, chapels, &c. in Spain, the whole collected with the greateſt care, arranged in chronological order, and conſequently adapted to furniſh every branch of the Spaniſh hiſtory with the moſt abundant ſource of authentic materials. The collection greatly facili-

tates

tates and encourages the learned reſearches of the academicians. It is in this immenſe repertory that they collect the elements of a work which for ſeveral years they have been preparing, I mean a geographical dictionary of Spain, which, by its correctneſs will be a worthy companion to the new dictionary of the language. One of the moſt learned among them, Don Juan Iriarte, who died in 1776, leaving behind him three nephews of diſtinguiſhed abilities, publiſhed a firſt volume of the Greek manuſcripts, in the library of Madrid; a continuation is expected from the librarians who are appointed to compleat the work. To a member of the ſame academy, Father Florez, Spain is alſo already indebted for ſeveral volumes of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the nation, which in his hands was, in truth, only an irregular compilation of documents, become very ſcarce, or entirely unknown, but it has acquired a more pleaſing form by the care of his continuator,

tinuator, Father Riſco, an Auguſtin monk.

Several other writers, well acquainted with what relates to their country, are employed in giving a clear hiſtory of it, and inſtructing their fellow citizens in matters of policy, and the ſcience of government. They have naturalized in their language ſuch French and Engliſh works as the Spaniſh orthodoxy would permit; thoſe, for inſtance, which treat of trades and arts. They are at preſent tranſlating two of the works of Linnæus, and the natural hiſtory of M. de Buffon. When I was in Spain the French *Dictionaire Encyclopédique*, was undertaken to be tranſlated by ſubſcription; and thoſe who believe that in that kingdom every perſon is ſubjected to the yoke of bigotry and fanaticiſm were not a little ſurprized to ſee the name of the grand inquiſitor at the head of the liſt of ſubſcribers; for it is to be remembered there was a very numerous liſt of ſubſcribers for the new *encyclopédie*, in numbers. But the writer

writer of the article Spain, heated with national prejudices, without having any knowledge of the country otherwiſe than by vain declamations, or unfaithful relations, wantonly vilified a whole nation, which from its weight in the balance of Europe, its virtues, and intimate connexion with our own, he ought to have reſpected.

The Spaniſh government highly reſented ſo unmerited an inſult, and the French court determined to redreſs its complaints with all the warmth of friendſhip and the rigour of juſtice. The author, cenſor, and printer were ſeverely reprimanded; and the publication of the new encyclopédie was ſuſpended by order of the court. The Spaniſh miniſter, however, though offended, was not implacable, he reſented the affront, but would not exclude knowledge, and ſoon afterward revoked the ſuſpenſion, at the ſame time taking meaſures to eraſe the errors and invectives from a work of which he knew the merit. Before the

the numbers are diſtributed to the ſubſcribers, they are examined by the council of Caſtile. At the time the court of Spain took offence at the article above-mentioned, a Spaniſh eccleſiaſtic at Paris undertook the apology of his country againſt the indiſcreet author; but even his countrymen think that, lead aſtray by his zeal, he carried the matter to the other extreme. He is more prodigal of eulogiums than his adverſary had been of contempt and reproaches. One had refuſed every merit; and the other beſtowed every poſſible excellence. According to the latter, the Spaniards excel in every art and ſcience. Thus paſſion, by exaggerating, ſometimes injures the cauſe it means to defend. In this diſcuſſion, as in all others, reaſon ſeeks and finds the truth only in the juſt medium.

There are undoubtedly in Spain more learned men who modeſtly cultivate the ſciences; more men of erudition who are thoroughly acquainted with the

the hiſtory and juriſprudence of their country; more diſtinguiſhed men of letters and a greater number of poets, who have energy and a fertile and brilliant imagination than is generally imagined. But according to the Spaniards themſelves, the preſent ſtate of letters and the ſciences is far from what it was in the times of Mariana, Solis, Mendoza, Ambroiſe, Morales, Herrera, Saavedra, Sepulveda, Cervantes, Quevedo, Garcilaſo, Calderon, Lopes de Vega, &c. &c.

The Spaniſh univerſities can no longer boaſt the reputation they formerly poſſeſſed; induſtry and population are much inferior to what they were under Ferdinand the Catholic, and his two ſucceſſors. But the preſent government is zealouſly and ſucceſsfully employed in endeavouring to revive thoſe happier times. Beſides the academies of which I have ſpoken, there is one at Madrid for the laws of Spain, another for the canon law, and a third for medicine

dicine. A taſte for the arts and ſciences has extended even to the provinces.

At Seville is an academy of Belles-lettres, and a medical ſociety; at Saragoſſa and Valencia an academy of arts; at Valladolid, one of geography; at Granada, one of mathematics and drawing; and at Barcelona, an academy of Belles-lettres.

There were for a long time in Spain ſix great colleges (*collegios mayores*) into which none were admitted but young men of family, and from among whom perſons qualified for every office of government were almoſt excluſively taken. The privileges they enjoyed became a ſource of abuſe. They ſupported idleneſs and arrogance in the colleges, and diſcouraged other ſeminaries of education. Government ſtruck at the root of the evil. In 1777 the colleges received a new form from which the moſt happy effects are expected.

Education

Education is nevertheleſs ſtill imperfect in Spain, and the expulſion of the Jeſuits has made it perhaps yet more ſo. At that period the inconvenience of confiding youth to the care of religous orders was, perhaps, too much magnified. That of the Piariſtes, known in Spain by the name of *Eſcolapios*, is the only one which is ſtill in the poſſeſſion of ſome ſchools. Every where elſe, the place of the Jeſuits has been ſupplied by profeſſors, who may either be eccleſiaſtics or lay perſons, but who form no collective body nor reſide under the ſame roof. The Jeſuits, beſides the property of the ſociety, had foundations for different profeſſorſhips. Theſe were the only funds appropriated to the ſupport of the new profeſſors. They were ſufficient for monks living in a community, but are very inadequate in the preſent ſtate of things. Profeſſorſhips ſo little lucrative cannot be ſought after by perſons eminent for learning and talents. The education of youth ſuffers therefore by the change and this is a circumſtance

of

of ſufficient importance to deſerve the attention of government.

Much, however, has already been done for military education. The king has eſtabliſhed a ſchool for artillery at Segovia, a riding ſchool at Ocanna, one of engineers at Carthagena, and another for tactics at Avila, whence it has lately been removed to Port Santa Maria.

Manufactures at the beginning of the preſent century were greatly on the decline. The three ſovereigns of the houſe of Bourbon have made efforts to revive them. There are manufactures of common cloths at Eſcaray in Biſcay, at Bocairente, at Ontemente, and at Alcoy in the kingdom of Valencia, and at Grazalema in Andaluſia; and we have already ſeen the encouragement given by the preſent ſovereign to the manufacture of fine cloths at Guadalaxara and Segovia. In the courſe of this work we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of ſeveral others, and it will be ſeen that thoſe of ſilk in particular

lar have engaged the attention of government. There is one for hats at Madrid, as alſo at Badajoz and Seville, and foreign manufactures already feel the competition: for there is this fatality in the preſent conſtitution of Europe, that no nation can proſper in any branch of commerce without being prejudicial to its neighbours. But in this ſtruggle of jarring intereſts murmurs are improper and complaints uſeleſs. Nothing is juſt or efficacious but the efforts of induſtry, activity, and oeconomy.

Spain alſo owes to the ſovereigns of the houſe of Bourbon the few roads and canals ſhe poſſeſſes. The government is well convinced how much the want of theſe is felt, and is taking every means to ſupply the deficiency. There are already fine roads in Biſcay and Navarre; thoſe which terminate in the capital announce the reſidence of a great monarch. Fine ones have been begun between Aranjuez and Valencia; in Galicia, from the Corogne to Pontevedra; to the

north of Caſtile, from Reynoſa to the ſea, and in ſome other parts of the peninſula. But the able miniſter who preſides over this department cauſes them to be carried on with that prudent ſlowneſs which alone inſures the ſucceſs of expenſive undertakings. His plans alſo have been ſomewhat deranged by the war, which even when it is ſucceſsful cauſes an exchange of real and ſolid advantages for a little glory. This miniſter is more particularly attentive to improve and compleat the principal road which entirely croſſes Spain from Bayonne to Cadiz, paſſing by Madrid. The advantage unknown until within theſe two years, of travelling in a poſt-chaiſe, the hundred leagues which ſeparate the two laſt cities, is to be aſcribed to him.

We have ſeen what he has already done for the canal of Arragon. That of Caſtile, long ſince begun, will ſoon engage his attention. The canal projected in Murcia has been found impracticable;

ticable; the ſubſcribers, inſtead of the profits which their avidity graſped at, muſt content themſelves with the intereſt the king pays them, and have in the unimpeachable probity of the monarch a ſufficient ſecurity for their money. Laſt year the miniſter adopted a project much more brilliant and uſeful than that he was obliged to abandon; that of a canal, which beginning at the foot of the mountains of Guadarrama near the Eſcurial, proceeds to join the Tagus, afterwards the Guadiana, and terminates at the Guadalquivir above Anduxar, and which conſequently will give new life and activity to the center of Spain, the leaſt populous and moſt barren part of the kingdom. A Frenchman of abilities named le Maur, gave in the plan, and was preparing to carry it into execution, but died ſoon afterwards. The impulſe, however, was given, the money ſubſcribed, and the eſtimate made. The undertaking is continued by the ſons of le Maur, who in-

herit from their father all his plans and a portion of his talents.

But that which more particularly contributes to the proſperity of Spain is the modern inſtitution of patriotic ſocieties, known by the name of *friends to the country*. The example was given in Biſcay; as was natural to expect in a province where induſtry and patriotiſm reign in every mind. It was ſoon followed by the other provinces, and by the capital, in which a patriotic ſociety was eſtabliſhed in 1775. At the end of the laſt year there were already forty-four. The name of theſe inſtitutions indicates their aim. The members of which they are compoſed, encourage the progreſs of the arts and the agriculture and induſtry of their provinces. They propoſe queſtions relative to theſe objects, and give premiums to thoſe who diſcuſs them beſt. They awaken the induſtry of their fellow citizens, animate their zeal, ſolicit their information, give encourage-

encouragement to artiſans, aſſiſtance and advice to the peaſants, and cauſe the patriotic ardour, with which they are animated, to circulate through every claſs of citizens. Never did a laudable inſtitution make more rapid progreſs or produce more general effect. Thoſe who never ſee the advancement of good but with an envious eye, or whoſe methodical ſupineneſs is diſguſted with novelty, and thoſe whoſe ſelf-love is mortified by ſucceſs to which they do not contribute, have endeavoured to throw ridicule upon theſe ſocieties; they have pretended that the members talked much but performed little; that they exaggerated their importance, and diſcuſſed trifles with pompous gravity. Undoubtedly they have not yet done every thing which may be done; their ſlender funds circumſcribe their progreſs; but the great point was to rouze their country from its ſtupor, and to offer a ſtimulus to the talents of artiſts, and the labour of huſbandmen; to excite their emulation by the proſpect of fame, and their intereſt

by the hope of gain. This is what the ſocieties have already effected. The leiſure and ſavings of peace enable government to furniſh the means of increaſing their beneficence. At the repreſentation made by the principals of theſe ſocities, their funds, which conſiſt in a great meaſure of voluntary contributions, were increaſed to a ſtock which may be compared to that of the *Economats* in France *. The ſovereign whoſe piety is rational, and to whom the communication of beneficial projects is all that is neceſſary to prevail on him to adopt them, has thought proper to dedicate to the encouragement of theſe ſocieties a part of the revenues of the church, the vacant benefices of which he enjoys for a certain time. In a leſs enlightened age ſuch an employment of this property would have been called a profanation. The Spaniſh government, on the contrary, think that making it contribute

* In one ſenſe the funds ariſing from the revenues of vacant benefices.

to

to the proſperity of the ſtate is to ſanctify its uſe. The object of pious foundations was much leſs to beſtow on eccleſiaſtics an opulence hurtful to the true intereſts of religion, than to provide for the wants of the poor, to baniſh poverty, and employ that idleneſs which neceſſarily increaſes indigence. Theſe were the intentions of the founders, and this is the reaſoning of a country which prejudice ſuppoſes to be ſtill enſlaved by the ſuperſtitious bigotry of the fourteenth century.

The patriotic ſocities have received other encouragements from government. Enlightened by them it has revived laws which had fallen into diſuſe. It has excluded ſuch foreign merchandize as might be prejudicial to the national manufactures, and has procured to theſe ſuch workmen as may improve and perfect them. Theſe meaſures have already been prejudicial, and will become ſtill more ſo, to other manufacturing and commercial nations; they may excite in

them murmurs and alarm, they will undoubtedly reanimate their activity and vigilance, but cannot but be applauded by real patriots.

The patriotic ſociety of Madrid is diſtinguiſhed from the others only by the more immediate protection of government, and by its ſituation, which gives it a greater facility of acquiring information and aſſiſtance. It has, perhaps, fewer objects, on which to exerciſe its zeal, becauſe that the productions of new Caſtile, in the center of which it is placed, are leſs various than thoſe of the other provinces, and becauſe that its induſtry is more confined. But it is attentive to the improvement of agriculture in the environs of Madrid, and to furniſh the children of both ſexes and the poor of that capital with employment. 'A perfect equality is the moſt ſacred law of all theſe ſocieties; rank is unknown in them; the archbiſhop of Toledo, and the duke of Medina Celi may there be placed by the ſide

ſide of an artiſan, and information is collected from whatever ſource it may come.

As Madrid is the chief center of arts and ſciences, ſo is it that of government. Although the monarch reſides there but a few weeks in the year, and his miniſters are always near his perſon, this city is the ſeat of government, and of the ſupreme tribunals. We ſhall take a view of them all; and this will naturally lead us to ſpeak of the laws, religion, finances, and military force of Spain.

The council of Caſtile holds the firſt rank among the councils and tribunals of the kingdom; there is nothing in France which can be compared to it; it is at once a council of adminiſtration which has the inſpection of all the interior operations of government, and a ſovereign tribunal that has an excluſive cognizance of certain cauſes, and in certain

certain caſes receives appeals from the other tribunals.

The council of Caſtile is compoſed of five chambers. The firſt, the *ſala de Govierno*, which is confined to the affairs of adminiſtration; it alſo receives references accompanied with neceſſary forms, brought to the council in extraordinary caſes, but it is only to ſend them to the ſecond *ſala de Govierno*, or to the *ſala de Juſticia* according to circumſtances.

The ſecond *ſala de Govierno* judges ſome of the cauſes brought before the council of Caſtile by extraordinary reference, but its chief occupation is in matters relative to the manufactures, bridges, banks, and cauſeways of the kingdom.

The chamber of *Mil y quinientos* or of one thouſand five hundred, thus called becauſe thoſe who appeal to it from the ſen-

ſentences and judgments of the ſovereign tribunals are obliged to depoſit fifteen hundred ducats, which they forfeit in caſe of loſing the appeal.

The *ſala de Juſticia* has an excluſive cognizance of certain cauſes, the particulars of which would be unintereſting, and perhaps unintelligible, to moſt of our readers; and for the judgment of capital cauſes of a certain deſcription this chamber is united to the others.

The *ſala de Provincia* judges the appeals in all important caſes, and receives thoſe from the judgments of the two lieutenants civil of Madrid *(Tenientes de Villa)* and from thoſe of the *Alcaldes de Corte* in civil affairs.

Theſe form a ſixth chamber. The city of Madrid is divided into a certain number of quarters, and the police of each is ſuperintended by an *Alcalde de Corte*: who judges in the firſt inſtance, in concurrence with the lieutenants civil,

civil, all the cauſes brought by the citizens of his quarter. Their deciſions may be appealed from to the whole chamber aſſembled, which alone can finally pronounce upon criminal cauſes within its juriſdiction. It is in extraordinary caſes only that they are carried before the council of Caſtile.

The chamber of the *Alcaldes de Caſa y Corte* was formerly the tribunal which always accompanied the court of Spain. Since this is underſtood to be fixed at Madrid, the tribunal has been fixed there alſo; and as it formerly had a provincial juriſdiction near the reſidence of the ſovereign, it has ſtill preſerved ſuch a juriſdiction to a certain diſtance from the capital. The council of Caſtile is the only one acknowledged by the grandees of Spain, and all its members have the right of *committimus*, like thoſe of the French parliaments.

Spain is divided into two chanceries, thoſe of Granada and Valladolid, which have

have an excluſive cognizance of certain cauſes. Their deciſions are not appealed from to the council of Caſtile, except in two caſes, when the appellants addreſs themſelves to the chamber of *Mil y quinientos*, or upon a denial of juſtice, called *Recurſos de Fuerza*. Each chancery has a particular chamber, called *Sala de Hijoſdalgo*, or chamber of nobles. Its office is to authenticate nobility, and to hear cauſes relative thereto. It has alſo an excluſive cognizance of criminal cauſes of the *Hidalgos*.

Beſides theſe there are eight audiences, without reckoning the particular tribunal of Navarre, which has the title of *Royal Council*, as ſome of the provinces of France have, inſtead of a parliament, a ſovereign council. The four audiences of the crown of Arragon are thoſe of Saragoſſa, Barcelona, Valencia, and Majorca; and of the crown of Caſtile thoſe of Seville, Corogne, Oviedo, and the Canaries.

Each

Each chancery and each audience has a criminal court, *ſala de Crimen*, which definitively pronounces criminal ſentences, and cauſes them to be executed.

Except a few reſtrictions, theſe tribunals are equally ſovereign. The principal difference between the chanceries and the audiences is, that the firſt act in the king's name like the council of Caſtile. There are alſo ſome caſes in which appeals lie from the audiences of Corogne and Oviedo to the chancery of Valladolid, and from the audience of Seville to the chancery of Granada. But from the four audiences of the crown of Arragon the appeal (in certain caſes) is immediately made to the council of Caſtile, where the cauſes in queſtion muſt be determined according to the laws of Arragon.

The limits of theſe different juriſdictions are not clearly enough defined to prevent frequent conteſts between the courts. Whilſt the council of Caſtile

tile loſes no opportunity of extending its juriſdictions, the chanceries and audiences inceſſantly ſtruggle againſt it to ſupport their ſupreme authority. The council of Navarre alone had preſerved its authority unimpaired, until lately, when ſome of the cauſes brought before it were carried by appeal to the council of Caſtile. Unleſs in caſes of appeal, which are rare exceptions to the general rule, there is no reſource againſt the deciſions of all the ſovereign tribunals, but reviſion, which in Spain is called *Supplica.* Appeals, in that caſe, are made to the tribunal itſelf, praying it to begin the proceſs anew.

The heads of the chanceries are called *Preſidents*, and thoſe of the audiences *Regents.*

The head of the council of Caſtile has the title of preſident or governor: theſe two dignities differ but little, except in honorary diſtinctions. The preſident of the council of Caſtile muſt always be

be a grandee of Spain. When he appears in public, he has particular privileges. The count d'Aranda was the laſt perſon who filled this place, and as he held that of captain-general of all Caſtile, and poſſeſſed firmneſs and talents, he exerciſed it with an authority which yielded only to that of the ſovereign.

Various reaſons, of which it is not yet time to inform the public, induced him to reſign this place to become ambaſſador in France, where he was preceded by his great reputation, and where he has enjoyed ſince the year 1773, that reſpect to which on ſo many accounts he is entitled.

The office of preſident of the council of Caſtile had been revived, after a long interruption, in the perſon of the count, in one of thoſe critical moments when men of genius become neceſſary. He diſcharged the duties of it during ſeven years, with all the energy and wiſdom by

by which he is characteriſed. Madrid will for a long time exhibit proofs of what he effected for its embelliſhment, ſecurity, and convenience, even during his ſhort adminiſtration. It is to his care and prudence that Spain owes the expulſion of the Jeſuits, prepared with the greateſt ſecrecy, and executed without tumult. He alſo procured an account of the preſent ſtate of population in that kingdom, which, according to the documents laid before him, amounts to about eleven millions of inhabitants *.

The diſſipated and frequently licentious lives of the monks were reformed, and their manners rendered more ſuitable to their profeſſion. The abuſes of the aſylum which the greateſt criminals

* No means were neglected to make this calculation as exact as poſſible. However, as the public, miſinformed, ſuppoſed it to be undertaken with views to taxation, ſeveral citizens gave in falſe reports of the number of perſons each houſe contained. It is therefore probable, that the real population of Spain is rather above than below what it is eſtimated at in the laſt accounts.

found in the churches were ſuppreſſed. The ſovereign authority was placed above the reach of the pretenſions of the holy ſee; bounds were ſet to the exterior practices of religion, more favourable to idleneſs than devotion; and in ſome reſpects, as we ſhall hereafter find, the power of fanaticiſm was ſubjected to controul. The functions of the place of preſident of the council of Caſtile were never ſo actively diſcharged as during his adminiſtration. Since his reſignation that title has been conferred on no one; he was ſucceeded by a ſenſible and moderate eccleſiaſtic, M. de Figueroa, who had only the title of governor of the council of Caſtile, and who died whilſt I was in Spain. At preſent the count de Campomanes, as oldeſt member of the council, diſcharges the functions of governor, without having the title, and by his long ſervices, knowledge, and integrity, is in every reſpect worthy to be at the head of the magiſtracy of his country.

The

The oldeſt members of this council, form what is called in Spain the *Camara*, which in ſome reſpects may be compared to the great chamber of the parliament of Paris. It is properly the privy council of the monarch, and at the ſame time a ſovereign tribunal for certain cauſes, ſuch as all which have relation to the right of patronage, the ſucceſſions of perſons of the royal family, and all conteſts relative to the rights of cities (*Ciudades*) which differ from *Villas*, the former having a particular juriſdiction, and being repreſented in the Cortes of the kingdom †.

The *Camara* is alſo the council which iſſues all acts or patents of royal favour. All places in the magiſtracy, and all conſiſtorial benefices are conferred by its means. It recommends to his majeſty, through the medium of his mi-

† Madrid is only a *Villa*, yet is repreſented in the Cortes like the *Ciudades*. But this is the only exception.

niſter of favour and juſtice, three perſons to fill them, and the king chuſes one of the three.

No place in the magiſtracy is venal in Spain. This, like all human inſtitutions, has its advantage and inconvenience. If it leaves a greater opening to caprice, favour and intrigue, it prevents the tribunals from being diſhonoured by incapacity and ignorance, and diminiſhes the temptation to ſell that juſtice of which the right of diſpenſing is bought. It is true that the integrity of magiſtrates frequently without fortune muſt appear ſuſpicious, and that their moderate fees ſeem but a weak rampart againſt corruption. However, notwithſtanding the declamations of diſſatisfied clients, iniquitous and partial judges are not more common in Spain than in other countries, whether it be that they are better watched, or that the generoſity natural to the Spaniſh nation ſecures them from all temptation.

There

There is a kind of gradation in the Spaniſh magiſtracy of which the degrees are eaſily traced. All the members of the *Camara* are ancient counſellors of Caſtile; theſe ſeldom obtain their places without having been preſidents of a chancery or an audience, or at leaſt ancient counſellors of one of theſe tribunals, or Alcade de Corte. In the ſame manner it is from among the advocates *Corregidors*, or *Alcaldes Mayores*, that the latter are choſen. It is here neceſſary to give ſome account of theſe magiſtrates, of whoſe offices foreigners in general have but a very confuſed idea.

Firſt there are two claſſes of ſimple Alcaldes*, who are eſtabliſhed in the cities, boroughs and villages. The *Alcalde ordinario* judges in the firſt inſtance,

* Theſe different ſpecies of Alcaldes are uſually confounded by foreigners. Not to diſtinguiſh an *Alcalde Pedaneo* from an *Alcalde de Corte* is the ſame as ſuppoſing a ſheriff's officer and a magiſtrate upon the bench to be equal in rank and authority.

when there is no Corregidor, but in places where there is one, has cognizance of civil cauſes in concurrence with him, whilſt the latter acts alone in matters of police and adminiſtration. The *Alcalde pedaneo*, who is commonly taken from among the common people, has no functions but thoſe of arreſting delinquents, and executing the orders of the Corregidor, or the Alcalde Mayor.

The ſimple *Alcaldes* are differently appointed, according to the privileges of the cities, boroughs and villages in which they reſide. In ſome places chance decides, in others they are named by the council of Caſtile, the tribunal of the province, or the lord of the manor, who chuſes one from three perſons propoſed to him. They are changed every year.

The *Alcaldes Mayores*, or *Corregidors*, which differ in title only, are all named by the king upon the preſentation of the Camara. This inferior degree of ma-

magiſtracy was formerly under very improper regulations, which government has lately reformed. The place of Corregidor was beſtowed on perſons of ſmall fortune, who frequently expended their whole property in ſoliciting the promotion. After having ſucceeded, they held their places three years, when their office expired, and they were again obliged to have recourſe to new ſolicitations. How could it be hoped, that men ſcarcely eſcaped from want, and upon the brink of relapſing into their former indigence, would not be violently tempted to inſure to themſelves reſources at the expence of thoſe over whom they poſſeſſed a tranſient authority? It was neceſſary to preſerve the ſubjects of the king from their rapacity, and theſe magiſtrates themſelves from temptation. Men virtuous from a love of virtue, and who firmly refuſe to commit evil, even when they can perpetrate it with advantage and impunity, are rare in every country; and the Corregidors but too frequently confirmed

this melancholy truth. The count of Florida Blanca, when miniſter of favour and juſtice, had the almoſt unexampled courage to adopt the meaſures projected by his predeceſſor and the count de Compomanes; meaſures which might excite the emulation of the Corregidors, and enable and encourage them to be honeſt. He procured that for the future they ſhould continue in office ſix years inſtead of three; that there ſhould be three claſſes of *Corregimientos*; that they ſhould paſs from one claſs to another, after having well diſcharged the duties of their firſt place; that their emoluments ſhould be increaſed at every removal; and that having thus gone through the three claſſes to the ſatisfaction of his majeſty, they ſhould have what in Spain is called the honours of *Togado*, that is, the title and prerogatives annexed to the place of counſellor of the ſuperior tribunals, whether their acknowledged merit was rewarded by one of theſe places, or that they continued to occupy the *Corregimientos* of the

firſt

firſt claſs. When I was at Madrid, government was waiting the termination of the commiſſion of the triennial Corregidors to begin this regulation, truly advantageous to the people, who at times, even in monarchies, are conſidered as of ſome importance.

Beſides the three claſſes of Corregidors, there is one of another kind; thoſe of Madrid and Seville, two cities in which the magiſtracy is peculiar and diſtinct. The Corregidors are for life, and muſt not be taken from the profeſſion of the law; they are no more than chiefs of the police who preſide at city meetings, bull-fights, and the public acts of the city. The lieutenants civil, *Tenientes de Villa*, have a juriſdiction independant of their authority, and ſupply them in their preſidencies. Beſides theſe, Madrid and Seville have *Regidores*, a kind of inſpectors, who maintain the police in concurrence with the Corregidor. This is the municipal conſtitution of Madrid. The *Alcaldes de Corte* make

make no part of it, and are, as we have obſerved, dependant upon the court; this, however, prevents not their juriſdiction from extending to the interior of the capital, which is divided into a certain number of quarters, diſtributed to the different Alcaldes de Corte; each of whom has under him an *Alcalde de Barrio* *, a kind of local magiſtrate, who watches over the preſervation of public order, within the extent of his juriſdiction.

Laſtly, there is a magiſtrate with the title of Superintendant, who is particularly charged with the police and the preſervation of public order, in concurrence with the *Alcaldes de Corte*, the *Regidores*, the *Corregidor*, and the *Tenientes de Villa*. From this conſtitution, which is certainly ſomewhat complicated, reſults frequent claſhings of juriſdiction among the magiſtrates; but on the other hand, there are few cities in Eu-

* There are therefore five kinds of Alcaldes, *Alcalde Pedaneo*, *Alcalde Ordinario*, *Alcalde de Barrio*, *Alcalde Mayor*, and *Alcalde de Corte*.

rope

rope in which the police is better regulated than at Madrid, where there is more ſafety, or where fewer crimes are committed which eſcape the vigilance of juſtice.

It now remains to conſider, by what code of laws juſtice is adminiſtered in Madrid, as well as in the reſt of the kingdom.

It may be ſaid, ſtrictly ſpeaking, that the Roman or civil law has there no force. This, by ſome old ordinances of the kings of Caſtile, is forbidden, under ſevere penalties, to be ſo much as quoted. Theſe laws, however, for ſo long a time the object of a blind admiration, and againſt which it is now become the cuſtom to declaim with virulence, are frequently conſulted in practice. The Spaniards ſeem to obſerve a juſt medium between the two extremes. They do not adopt the civil law implicitly; they look not upon all its deciſions as infallible; but their lawyers derive

rive from it knowledge and authorities, becauſe they are convinced, that in the midſt of a number of laws contradictory to each other, ſometimes abſurd, and frequently foreign to our manners and political conſtitution, many are to be found which cannot be denied to be dictated by reaſon and applicable to every legiſlation. The forms of proceſs in Spain, are conformable to the Roman law, except ſome difference in terms and the uſe of documents. They are reported, not as in France by members of the tribunal, but by particular magiſtrates, called *Relatores*, whoſe places are very lucrative, and conſequently much ſought after.

The only authentic laws, according to which juſtice is adminiſtered, are regiſtered in the codes publiſhed by the ancient kings; ſuch are the *Ley de las ſiete Partidas*, the *Ordenamiento-Real*, the *Fuero-Juzgo*, and *Fuero-Real*. The principal code, that which is in conſtant uſe, is called *Recopilacion*. It is a collection of various

various and distinct edicts of the monarchs of Spain from the earliest ages to the present reign. A new edition is given from time to time in which all the laws published since the last are inserted; for it is not until after they are thus registered that certain edicts acquire the force of law. Such are those which are issued from the council of Castile under the title of *Autos-Accordatos*, and which may sometimes, from intervening circumstances, be revoked by the council itself.

It has been pretended in certain foreign prints, that the present monarch intended to give to Spain a new criminal code, and that the council of Castile had been ordered to digest it. The assertion was at least exaggerated. The council, which too well knows how much men are led by words, would have feared to have dishonoured the memory of Charles III. by placing his name at the head of a criminal code. The title alone awakens an idea of severity and even of cruelty, which

which would have formed too great a contraſt to the clemency and goodneſs which are the characteriſtic virtues of the reigning ſovereign. The following facts are what gave riſe to the error: The council of Caſtile, by the agency of the count de Campomanes, who was then one of its *fiſcales*, had propoſed the reviſion and reform of the old criminal laws, ſome of which were abſurd, diſguſting or impoſſible to be enforced; ſuch were thoſe which condemned certain criminals to be pierced with arrows; falſe witneſſes to have their teeth pulled out, &c. The propoſition being approved by the king, the council appointed ſome members of the different tribunals to make a reviſion of the penal laws, and to ſubſtitute others more conformable to modern manners. From the report of this committee, of which the count de Campomanes was preſident, the chamber of the *Alcaldes de Corte* was directed to draw up a plan which ſhould ſerve as a baſis to the projected reform. Whatever may be the ultimate benefit derived

derived from this meaſure, it has already produced a tract on the penal laws, the work of a young lawyer named Lardizabal, which appeared in 1784, and may be read with pleaſure and advantage, even after the celebrated eſſays of the marquis of Beccaria.

This is the proper place to ſpeak of the torture, that barbarous inſtitution againſt which modern philoſophy has ſo forcibly exclaimed. It is not yet formally aboliſhed in Spain, and ſtill finds ſome defenders. A few years ago an eccleſiaſtic, named Caſtro, undertook a formal apology for it; but his work, which inſpired almoſt general indignation, was completely refuted by a gentleman of the profeſſion of the law, who in fact only expreſſed the moderate ſentiments of the firſt tribunal of the kingdom, and of the reaſonable part of the nation. His ſyſtem has infinitely more partiſans than that of his antagoniſt.

The

The canon law is the received code in Spain in all eccleſiaſtical affairs. It muſt not however be imagined that the court of Madrid pays implicit obedience to the orders of the holy ſee. There is no catholic kingdom in which more ſucceſsful efforts have been made to lighten this yoke.

The religion of Rome and its miniſters are without doubt ſtill held in the greateſt veneration, and the prieſts and monks, under the pretext of directing conſciences, ſometimes take part in temporal concerns, and abuſe the confidence placed in them by exceſſive credulity. But theſe abuſes, even under the reign of pious monarchs, were in many reſpects ſuppreſſed; though, during a great part of the preſent century, they infected the very avenues to the throne.

The dangerous influence, which father D'Aubenton, and his ſucceſſors of the ſame order enjoyed at the court of Philip

Phillip V. is remembered with indignation; as likewiſe that of father Rabago, the laſt Jeſuit who ſate in the confeſſional chair of the Spaniſh monarchs, with Ferdinand VI. The confeſſor of the preſent king is a Franciſcan. But although this monk is very frequently admitted to the preſence of his auguſt penitent, he does not extend his juriſdiction beyond the limits of the duties of real religion; and notwithſtanding what has been ſaid in Europe, eſpecially upon the ſubject of the late war, has few connections at court, and concerns himſelf very little with the affairs of government and political intrigue. The monarch, though he continually treats him with that deference which he thinks due from him to the director of his conſcience, has more than once repreſſed the fervency of his zeal. It is true his majeſty generally conſults him concerning filling the vacant biſhopricks and other eccleſiaſtical dignities, which are at the diſpoſal of the king, and in this point of view his con-

feſſor may be conſidered as poſſeſſing the nomination to benefices, although this properly belongs to the Camara and to the miniſter of favour and juſtice. But even in this reſpect, his influence has lately been circumſcribed, and the appointment to vacant ſees veſted, in excluſion of him, in the count de Florida Blanca, as the preſent miniſter of favour and juſtice.

This inconteſtible right of the kings of Spain to nominate to the great benefices of their dominions has been allowed by the popes only ſince the year 1753, the date of the compact between the Spaniſh court and the holy ſee.

Until then the collation to benefices had been the object of frequent conteſts between the two courts. The kings of Spain claimed it by virtue of their right of patronage, as having founded and endowed all the churches in their dominions. That moderate pontiff, Benedict XIV. who perceived that the real

means

means of preſerving the remaining rights of the holy ſee in an age when the eyes of every European ſovereign were more opened to diſcover abuſes; was to compound for ſome of them, propoſed, that in the firſt place the ſubject ſhould be diſcuſſed by the cardinals Aquaviva and Belluga; but their interpoſition having produced a correſpondence in which both parties were only inflamed againſt each other without making much progreſs towards a concluſion, it was agreed to abandon the diſcuſſion and negociate in an amicable manner. For this purpoſe Spain deputed the abbé de Figueroa a man of a mild and conciliating character and who has ſince been at the head of the council of Caſtile. The reſult was the compact which has finally ſettled this diſpute between the crown of Spain and the court of Rome.

The holy ſee did not refuſe the kings of Spain the right of nomination to all conſiſtorial benefices, which has been granted to them by different bulls. The

compact confirms them in the poſſeſſion of this right, regulating however that titularies ſhould be obliged to provide themſelves with bulls.

The principal conteſt turned upon regular and ſimple benefices. The kings of Spain demanded to nominate to all; the popes claimed a right to confer thoſe at leaſt which became vacant in the apoſtolical months.

The compact enumerated fifty-two benefices which ſhould be at the nomination of the holy ſee, with obligation to confer them upon none but Spaniards; and it was alſo ſtipulated that the pope ſhould not delegate this power of collation; that the benefices ſhould be exempt from penſions, and that the titularies ſhould pay no *cedulas bancarias*.

Theſe were contracts made with the apoſtolical chamber, by virtue of which the candidate to whom the benefice was promiſed engaged himſelf to pay a certain

tain ſum. This ſum he frequently did not poſſeſs; in which caſe the apoſtolical chamber advanced it to him at an enormous intereſt, and kept agents in Spain who took care to have theſe engagements fulfilled. Theſe ruinous abuſes ſent to Rome one year with another, a fifth of the revenue of all the benefices. One of the inconveniences, which were the conſequence, was the emigration of the candidates who went to intrigue at Rome and there diſhonour their country.

This was not the only impropriety aboliſhed by the compact. Previous to it the pope had always diſpoſed of the *ſpolios y vacantes*, that is of the ſpoils of deceaſed prelates and the revenues of vacant benefices. The adminiſtration of theſe funds was confided to an office compoſed of Italians, ſo expert in this buſineſs that a fourth of the produce of the benefices of Spain diſappeared under their rapacious management. By the

compact the holy ſee renounced theſe revenues under the ſingle condition that the adminiſtration of the *ſpolios y vacantes*, ſhould be granted to none but an eccleſiaſtic. This trifling reſtriction does not prevent the kings of Spain from diſpoſing of them according to their pleaſure. The miniſter they name employs a part of them in making advances to the new prelates who want money for their eſtabliſhment. It has been remarked, to the praiſe of the dignified Spaniſh clergy, that the repayment of theſe advances has never been neglected; and it muſt alſo be allowed, that though there are ſtill ſome fanatics among the Spaniſh prelates, they are highly worthy commendation for their piety, charity, and unimpeachable moral conduct.

Though it is ſtipulated by the compact that the produce of the *ſpolios y vacantes*, ſhall be wholly conſecrated to pious uſes, the king, as we have obſerved, makes no ſcruple of employing a part of

of them in the encouragement of induſtry, and even in rewards for military ſervices. But this ſource of beneficence is much leſs conſiderable than it might be. The chapters commonly choſen to liquidate the property of deceaſed prelates, and to adminiſter the revenues of great vacant benefices, ſometimes reduce them both to one-fourth of their real value.

As the compact deprived the holy ſee of the *ſpolios y vacantes*, and of ſome other revenues, and as that ſee ſeldom makes voluntary ſacrifices, it was neceſſary that a ſort of equivalent ſhould be found. On account of the penſions, payable from the benefices of Spain, and the produce of the *cedulas bancarias*, the court of Madrid engaged to pay it on one part, ſix hundred thouſand Roman crowns, at an intereſt of three per cent. and on the other a ſum of three hundred and ten thouſand crowns upon the ſame condition, as an

indemnification for the produce of the ſale of bulls, and that of the annates. Laſtly, the king of Spain, by the ſame compact, engages that for the ſubſiſtence of the nuncio at his court, an annual ſum of fifty thouſand crowns ſhall be paid from the revenue of the bull of the cruſade *, which on this occaſion was rendered perpetual.

It is manifeſt that the compact of 1753 has greatly diminiſhed the contributions which Spain pays to the holy ſee. The produce, however of marriage dipenſations ſtill remains in the poſſeſſion of the latter, and may be eſtimated at fifteen hundred thouſand livres (62500l.) a year.

Since that period, the court of Madrid has continued warmly to defend the rights of ſovereign authority againſt the

* We ſhall ſpeak of this when we come to treat of the taxes.

pre-

pretenſions of the holy ſee. It is not forgotten in what manner it received the admonition of Clement XIII. to the infant of Parma. The council of Caſtile collected all the copies and commanded the ſame to be done by all the letters, bulls and briefs which ſhould be found contrary to the royal rights or to the meaſures taken by government, renewing the ancient law which denounced pain of death and confiſcation againſt any notary or other perſons who ſhould dare to notify them.

On this occaſion the council of Caſtile, of which the count d'Aranda was then preſident, collected every public act by which the kings of Spain, from the time of Charles V. had endeavoured to prevent the admiſſion of the bull *in Cæna Domini*, ſo far as it was prejudicial to the ſovereignty and juriſdiction of the temporal tribunals, and commanded all archbiſhops and biſhops of the kingdom to pre-

prevent its publication and enforcement in their ſeveral dioceſes.

To theſe proofs of the vigilance of the catholic kings to maintain the independance of royal authority, I ſhall add that Spain, like France, has the reſource of its appeals from abuſes. In the courſe of the laſt year a Spaniſh work appeared, written profeſſedly on this ſubject, and intitled, *Maximas ſobre recurſos de fuerza y proteccion.* The clergy, and eſpecially the holy office, the ancient and now almoſt forgotten conſtitutions of which the author had printed at the end of his work, endeavoured to prevent its publication; but the council of Caſtile and the miniſter openly protected the author, and enabled him to triumph over every oppoſition.

It was at the ſame period alſo that the powers and privileges of the nuncio in Spain were confined within narrow limits. In the reign of Charles V. they had

had already received ſome diminution. The council of 1528 began by eſtabliſhing that the auditor of the nunciature ſhould be a Spaniard.

In 1564 the council of Caſtile reſtrained the power of the nuncio, and ſent him back his credentials that he might get them altered conformable to the reſtriction.

In 1640, the office of nuncio experienced new viciſſitudes. A regulation appeared which eſtabliſhed its form and proceedings, and to which was added, a liſt of all the favours which might be conferred by his authority.

The nuncios however, frequently abuſed the pious veneration of the Spaniards to extend their power. They ſometimes arrived with bulls which authoriſed them to be the collectors of the produce of the *ſpolios y vacantes*, and to oppoſe the intervention of the ſecular

lar tribunals in the *recurſos por fuerza* or appeals as from abuſes. In 1641, a nuncio appeared in Spain furniſhed with ſuch a bull; but the council of Caſtile, which, like the parliament of Paris, has ever zealouſly ſupported royal authority, examined and annulled the bull.

Under the preſent reigning family, the nuncios have made other attempts in which they have failed. Sometimes, when abſent, they have named by their own authority ſub-delegates to ſupply their places. In 1739, the nuncio being dangerouſly ill, appointed the inquiſitor general to exerciſe his functions; Philip V. was offended at the nomination, annulled it, and obliged the ſovereign pontiff to create the biſhop of Avila nuncio *per interim*.

Laſtly, in 1771, the court of Madrid obtained from pope Clement XIV. a brief which gave a new form to the nunciature, and ſubſtituted to the audi-

tor

tor of the nuncio who is the only judge of this tribunal a rota modelled by that of Rome, and compoſed of ſix eccleſiaſtics named by the ſovereign pontiff, but upon the preſentation of the king of Spain; which was excluſively inſuring theſe places to the ſubjects of the monarchy. This brief ſtated alſo, that the audiences of the nuncio ſhould always be in Spain, but that for the future they ſhould have no juriſdiction.

It muſt beſides be obſerved that Spain has long ſince adopted, with reſpect to the independance of the ſovereign power, maxims very ſimilar to the four famous articles which were ſanctioned by the aſſembly of the clergy of France in 1682, and which every ſubject the moment a public employment is conferred upon him is obliged to ſwear he will obſerve and maintain.

There ſtill exiſts in Spain, however, a very great abuſe ariſing from religion

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ill underſtood; this is the extreme riches of the monks and clergy. Next to the eccleſiaſtical principalities of Germany, the richeſt catholic prelacies are found in Spain. The archbiſhoprics of Toledo, Seville, St. Jago, Valencia, and Saragoſſa, have larger revenues than any in France. There are monaſteries, and particularly ſome of the Carthuſians, the property of which extends to the greateſt part of the diſtrict in which they are ſituated; and theſe religious foundations, while they depopulate and impoveriſh the neighbouring country, increaſe poverty and idleneſs by indiſcriminate charity. Of this Galicia in particular is an example. Two thirds of the province are in the hands of the monks and the clergy. The conſequence is that Galicia, although ſingularly favoured by Nature, which has abundantly provided it with every neceſſary of life, is perhaps the part of Spain in which knowledge and induſtry have made the leaſt progreſs.

The

The government, however, which becomes more and more enlightened, is endeavouring to leſſen the conſequences of ſuch a ſituation. In the firſt place the wiſe choice of prelates prevents in them that diſplay of offenſive luxury which, by irritating indigence, diminiſhes the reſpect due to religion. Their conſtant reſidence in their dioceſes produces at leaſt the advantage of making them expend their revenues in the country by which they are paid. All the prelates employ a great part of their income in alms. Several of them, particularly the archbiſhops of Toledo and Valencia, conſecrate a portion to the encouragement of induſtry, and this is not the only manner in which the riches of the clergy contribute to the good of the ſtate. It will be ſeen, when we come to treat of the taxes, that they pay conſiderable contributions. Beſides theſe, the court of Madrid has obtained from the holy ſee, the power of charging all the great benefices with

the payment of penſions even to a third of their produce; and by a brief in 1783, this power was extended to all the ſimple benefices, which produce upwards of two hundred ducats, or about five hundred and fifty livres.

The Spaniards ſaw, perhaps, more clearly than other ſtates, which pretend to more philoſophy, the abſurdity of having religious orders, and ſuffering the heads of them to reſide out of the kingdom.

In conſequence of this, the Carthuſian monaſteries in Spain were, in 1784, delivered from their dependance upon the grand Chartreuſe; and when I left Madrid there was but two monaſtic orders, which had their principals or generals at Rome; and the death of theſe two was only waited for to detach them entirely from this dangerous connexion.

The

The ſeverity with which the court of Madrid treated the ſociety of Jeſus, the continued vigour with which it purſued the Jeſuits, even to their extinction, in the court of Rome and the tranquillity of the nation, whilſt theſe meaſures were carrying into execution, prove that Spain crouches not ſo much as it is commonly believed beneath the yoke of ſuperſtition, and the abſolute empire of monks. It is not by groundleſs aſſertions, but by recent and inconteſtible facts, that we have endeavoured to combat the favourite prejudice of modern Europe, which ſurely can no longer exiſt, if ſuch plain and convincing arguments are properly weighed.

In Spain there is but one religious inſtitution which philoſophy mourns to ſee that nation ſubjected to, an inſtitution of which I am far from undertaking the apology, though I ſhall refrain from all violent declamations againſt it, as the greater part of my readers would learn nothing from them, and the remainder would be offended

at their aſperity. It is not by invectives that a nation can be cured of its prejudices. This ſpecies of intolerance, perhaps more intractable than that which is now almoſt every where vaquiſhed by reaſon and humanity, only increaſes the evil, and irritates thoſe who unhappily labour under its influence. I ſhall therefore more particularly refrain from all appearance of prejudice whilſt ſpeaking of religious intolerance, and of one of its moſt dreadful inſtitutions. It may eaſily be perceived that I have the holy office in view, that tribunal to which every odious epithet has for ſo long a time been given, and which has ſtill, in Spain, two powerful ſupporters, policy and religion.

Its defenders alledge that the authority of the ſovereign finds in the holy office a means of making itſelf reſpected, ſince by chaining the conſciences of the ſubjects it provides another ſecurity for their obedience, and prevents, in religious worſhip and opinion, thoſe

variations and incertitudes which have but too frequently diſturbed the peace of ſociety. They aſſert that religion gains by it the preſervation of its unity and purity, and attribute to the inquiſition the tranquillity Spain has in this reſpect conſtantly enjoyed, whilſt the other Chriſtian ſtates of Europe have been a prey to all the bitterneſs of religious quarrels, and the turbulent zeal of innovators.

The antagoniſts of the inquiſition maintain on the contrary, that it has conſtantly excluded light and information from the kingdom, that it has fed ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm, and kept the mind in a ſervile ſubjection fit only to repreſs thoſe vigorous efforts of genius by which great works of every kind are produced; that while it contracts the heart by fear, it prevents the ſweet effuſions of confidence and friendſhip, deſtroys the moſt intimate connexions which conſtitute their charms, and for

two whole centuries has condemned Spain to ignorance and barbariſm.

Theſe are undoubtedly very ſerious accuſations. An account of the preſent ſtate of this tribunal will prove how far they are well founded.

I ſhall not here repeat what is every where to be found in the hiſtory of the eſtabliſhment of the holy office. It was cotemporary with our religious wars, with all the outrages which fanaticiſm has produced in moſt of the ſtates of Chriſtendom; and under this point of view no nation can reproach the Spaniards.

But, ſince that period, manners are happily become more civilized, and if by the revolution the primitive conſtitution of the Spaniſh inquiſition has not been changed, the rigours of it have at leaſt been ſoftened, and are become leſs frequent. *Auto de fés* are not, the ſame pompous ſolemnities as formerly, when by their apparatus, under the pretence of ho-

honouring religion, they inſulted humanity; when the whole nation ran to them, as to a triumph, when the ſovereign and all his court were preſent, believing they thus performed the moſt meritorious act in the eyes of the Deity, and enjoyed the torments of the victims delivered up to the executioner, and the maledictions of the people; when all the particulars of theſe barbarous rejoicings were related in books written expreſsly to deſcribe the part taken in them, and the pleaſure received from them by the ſpectator. After the *auto de fé* in 1680, a work was publiſhed, giving the moſt circumſtantial relation of that terrible ſolemnity. The author ſeems to have taken as much pleaſure in his narration as he could have done in deſcribing a public feſtivity. "He "is about," he ſays, 'to relate, with "an intereſting exactneſs, all the cir"cumſtances of that triumph ſo glo"rious to the faith, with a liſt of the "nobility preſent, and a ſummary of

" the ſentences paſſed upon the cri-
" minals."

In his dedication he ſtiles Charles II. " the protector of the church; the pil-
" lar of the faith; the captain-general
" of the militia of God; the Chriſtian
" Jupiter; who chaſtiſes heretics, as
" Jupiter formerly did the Titans."

The cenſors afterwards approve in the moſt diſtinguiſhed manner, a work, which ſay they, " for the majeſty of its
" ſubject, ought not only to be read
" in Spain, but by the whole world."

The examiner ſurpaſſes the cenſors. " The author," according to him, " has anſwered the public expectation
" in a moment when curioſity made
" the ſpectacle the object of every wiſh,
" and when the pious impatience of
" all true believers complained of de-
" lay." He is above all eulogium, by having

having given, with a ſcrupulous attention, all the particulars of this wonderful ceremony, thereby proving, "that "in all that regards ſo ſolemn a tri- "bunal, the moſt trifling circumſtances "are of the greateſt importance." Had not he ſucceeded ſo well, he would have been excuſable; "for ſuch ſublime and "heroic actions are not to be deſcribed "by words; he was therefore per- "mitted to print this work for the con- "ſolation of pious perſons, the ſatiſ- "faction of the abſent, and the exam- "ple of poſterity."

In the courſe of this truly ſingular narrative, the author frequently celebrates the pious zeal of the monarch who was himſelf preſent at the ceremony.

"This prince," ſays he, "having "given it to be underſtood, that he "ſhould be *very glad* to be preſent at "the celebration of an auto-general, "the council (the inquiſition) thought

" it would be ſhewing him a mark of
" reſpect to afford him an opportunity
" to imitate the example of his auguſt
" father Philip IV." Madrid therefore was made the place of exhibition inſtead of Toledo, as at firſt intended. The grand inquiſitor went in conſequence to kiſs his majeſty's hand, " aſ-
" ſuring him that he would take the
" moſt ſpeedy meaſures for the accom-
" pliſhment of a work which was ſo
" *agreeable to him.*"

The author, at the concluſion, thus magnifies the merit which Charles II. acquired by honouring with his preſence the whole ceremony, except the laſt torments of the criminals.

" It was a great conſolation," ſays he, " to the zealous, a ſubject of con-
" fuſion to the indifferent, and of aſ-
" toniſhment for all the ſpectators, to
" be witneſſes of a conſtancy worthy of
" being admired for ages to come.
" From eight o'clock in the morning

" his

"his majeſty remained in his balcony, "without manifeſting the leaſt uneaſi- "neſs from the heat, or the prodigious "concourſe of people, or appearing "wearied by ſo long a ceremony. His "zeal and devotion were ſo ſuperior to "the fatigue, that he did not even "withdraw for a quarter of an hour to "taſte refreſhment; and at the end of "the ceremony he aſked, if there were "any thing elſe to be done, and if he "might retire."

The Spaniards of the preſent age are far from that cool cruelty which ſhuts the heart againſt pity; and are at liberty to compaſſionate the unhappy victims which ſuffer the ſeverities of the holy office.

Theſe have, however, been very rare in the preſent century, in which there has not been one general auto de fé ſimilar to that of 1680.

In

In 1714, ſome monks, whoſe monaſtery (of Corella in Arragon) was in the neighbourhood of a convent of nuns, were convicted of having abuſed the aſcendancy they had gained over their minds, by making them guilty of diſorders which they concealed under the veil of religion. This double crime of ſacrilege and ſeduction would any where elſe have been puniſhed in an exemplary manner, by temporal tribunals. It excited the animadverſion of the holy office, which condemned to death thoſe who were moſt culpable, and, according to cuſtom, delivered them over to the ſecular power.

Eleven years after, the inquiſition exerciſed another act of ſeverity, which I will not undertake equally to juſtify. A family of Moors was diſcovered at Granada, peaceably employed in the manufacture of ſilks, in which they excelled. The ancient laws, ſuppoſed to have become obſolete, were for this time renewed with all their rigour, and

and the unhappy Moors were burnt alive.

In 1756, ſeven perſons from among the lower claſs of people were taken from the priſons of Madrid to hear their ſentences pronounced, according to cuſtom, in the church of the Dominican nuns of that capital. One of them, a ſchoolmaſter, who had been falſely accuſed, was acquitted. The three falſe witneſſes who had depoſed againſt him, one of whom was his wife, were baniſhed for eight years, and condemned to receive two hundred laſhes, which were never inflicted. Another really received the laſhes, and was the only perſon then corporally puniſhed, becauſe, as the ſentence declared he was *heretic*, *apoſtate*, inclined to *Judaiſm*, *was unſettled in his faith*, *and attached to every ſect*. The only crime of one of the ſeven, who was from Tolouſe, conſiſted the name of *Free-Maſon*; his ſentence was perpetual baniſhment, and confiſcation of his property. Unhappily for him and the

the judges of the holy office, he had no property. Were the free-maſons every-where treated with the ſame ſeverity, their innocent and peaceable ſociety might in its turn become a dangerous ſect. The experience of eighteen centuries has ſufficiently taught the Chriſtian world that the moſt efficacious mode of propagating and inflaming the zeal of ſectaries, is to perſecute them.

In 1763, a particular auto de fé was celebrated at Ilerena, when ſome heretics were delivered to the flames. The obſcurity of theſe victims prevented their puniſhment from becoming generally public; and the univerſal terror which the name alone of the inquiſition inſpired, ſeemed to be leſs prevalent. The king, the year before, had reſtrained the powers of this tribunal. The grand inquiſitor having, againſt the expreſs will of his majeſty, publiſhed a bull which proſcribed a French book, was exiled to a convent thirteen leagues from Madrid. Whilſt in exile he endeavoured to

to excuſe himſelf by alledging the immemorial uſage, which gave to the holy office the excluſive right of prohibiting dangerous books. At the end of a few weeks he obtained his pardon; but the king, after having taken the advice of his miniſters and the council of Caſtile, in January 1762, iſſued an ordinance, which eſtabliſhed a new regulation relative to the admiſſion of bulls, and ſtated:

That for the future the grand inquiſitor ſhould not be allowed to publiſh edicts, except when they were ſent to him from his majeſty.

That when he ſhould receive briefs, by which books were to be prohibited, he ſhould conform to the laws of the country, and publiſh the prohibition, not ſupporting himſelf by the brief, but by his own authority.

That none of theſe edicts ſhould be publiſhed without firſt being ſeen and approved by the king.

Finally,

Finally, That the holy office ſhould, before it condemned a book, ſummon the author before the tribunal, to hear what he might have to ſay in his defence.

This little triumph of reaſon and ſovereign authority was indeed but ſhort. The year following, the influence of the king's confeſſor produced a revocation of the edict; but the count de Aranda, in whom vigour of character excludes not that addreſs which ſeems to be moſt frequently the concomitant of weak minds, having gained over a mixed council, compoſed of magiſtrates and biſhops, and which had been eſtabliſhed upon the occaſion of the expulſion of the Jeſuits, revived the order of 1762. This was not the only effort of that wiſe miniſter, to circumſcribe the power of the holy office; he had long meditated the depriving it of the right to ſeize the property of the criminals it condemned; a dreadful power, againſt which it is allowable boldly

boldly to declaim, even in Spain, because to manifeſt indignation at the avidity that dares to conceal itſelf under the ſacred veil of religion, and which directs and ſharpens the ſword of juſtice, is at once to ſerve the cauſe of God and man; beſides, that in all places where reaſon and charity can be heard, the accuſed ought to be ſpared the anticipated ſuffering of ſeeing their heirs in their judges. The count de Aranda was again upon the point of triumphing over this odious practice; but it was objected, that it furniſhed a part of the ſalaries of the officers of the tribunal; and that to ſupply the failure of this property, it would be neceſſary to create a fund of upwards of ſix hundred thouſand livres (25000l.) This conſideration ſuſpended the revocation which was ready to be pronounced. It is thus that in all governments the beſt intentions are counteracted by circumſtances, and that abuſes are perpetuated, becauſe they are connected with ſomething which either means or courage are wanting to attack.

The

The count ſucceeded better in another attempt. Being preſident of the council of Caſtile, which, as well by its functions as inclinations, has always been the zealous defender of the rights of ſovereignty, and gaining over, by the aſcendency given him by his character and talents, ſome powerful prelates, whoſe ſecret diſlike to a tribunal, enriched by epiſcopal ſpoils, he took every means to increaſe, he obtained in 1770 a royal mandate which confined the juriſdiction of the inquiſition to the cognizance of the crimes of hereſy and apoſtacy, and forbade it to impriſon the ſubjects of his majeſty, unleſs theſe crimes were clearly proved.

This was greatly to contract its limits, and to reduce it to the only object which perhaps might have been the motive of its inſtitution in an age when the innovators in matter of doctrine, inſulted by their turbulent zeal both religon and morality; and though the edict gave offence to a few weak and fanatical people, it was

celebrated and even magnified in foreign countries. The moment was ſuppoſed to be at hand when the hydra, which philoſophy had long before condemned, was to be deſtroyed.

The reſignation of the count de Aranda, which happened ſoon after, did not prevent ſimilar meaſures from being purſued, becauſe diſtinguiſhed and enlightened perſons were ſtill at the head of adminiſtration, who, notwithſtanding their zeal for religion, had imbibed the ſame principles. Security was reeſtabliſhed in the minds of men without baniſhing the reſpect due to religion and its miniſters. This was inſured by the goodneſs and moderation of the monarch, and the tolerating maxims of thoſe in whom he principally confided. The time of rigour and cruelty ſeemed to be paſſed, and the holy office appeared to ſlumber, when in 1777 it ſuddenly ſhook off its ſupineneſs at the expence of an illuſtrious victim, and terror and falſe zeal were again rouſed through all

Spain, and throughout the reſt of Europe the indignation of every rational friend to the bleſſings of a wiſe toleration again excited.

Don Pablo Olavidé, born in Peru, had been raiſed by his diſtinguiſhed abilities to one of the firſt employments in the ſtate, that of intendant of the four kingdoms of Andaluſia and aſſiſtant of Seville. His ſage meaſures in this important poſt had excited admiration and gratitude, but envy was at the ſame time more active than either of theſe ſentiments; when new opportunities preſented to ſignalize his zeal. The king had conceived a project worthy of his beneficence, which was to clear and people that part of Sierra Morena which is croſſed by the road from Madrid to Cadiz, a diſtrict formerly inhabited and cultivated, but lately overgrown with wood, and become a retreat for robbers and wild beaſts. M. Olavidé was appointed to carry this plan into effect, and acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion in the

the moſt diſtinguiſhed manner; he however could not avoid the ordinary rock of all great enterpriſes. He made himſelf enemies; and drew upon him the hatred of father Romuald, a German capuchin, who had brought into the Sierra Morena, a patent from the general of his order, by which he was declared prefect of all new miſſions, and from which he wiſhed to arrogate to himſelf an unlimited authority in every thing which could be made to have the leaſt connexion with religion. He met with oppoſition from the grand vicar, to whom the biſhop of the dioceſe had delegated his powers in the Sierra Morena. He was ſtill more oppoſed by M. Olavidé, who otherwiſe gave him a good reception, and received him into his intimacy. The diſappointed ambition of the monk became furious. Some indiſcreet expreſſions from M. Olavidé in an unguarded moment, becauſe he was without ſuſpicion, ſupplied him with an opportunity to gratify his revenge, which perhaps he diſguiſed, even to himſelf,

under the name of zeal for religion. He fomented the diſcontents of ſome of the ſettlers who were his own countrymen, and made uſe of them to diſcredit the new eſtabliſhment and its principal conductor. The memoirs he preſented to the council of Caſtile, were full of the moſt ſerious charges againſt M. Olavidé. The council cauſed them to be examined by an impartial judge, and traced them back to their corrupted ſource.

M. Olavidé, however, who far from ſuſpicion, ſtill continued his operations with zeal, was ſuddenly ordered to court in the month of November, 1775, there to confer concerning different objects relative to his miſſion.

Whilſt he reſided at Madrid, in the moſt perfect ſecurity, he diſcovered by accident the treacherous conſpiracy which was labouring to effect his deſtruction. He learned from intercepted letters, that father Romuald had planned his ruin to enrich himſelf with his ſpoils, and

and that he was not without a hope that the court itſelf would favour his deteſtable plot. The contents of theſe letters were communicated to the monarch, who ordered them to be examined by one of his tribunals.

But theſe were not the only weapons employed by the vindictive and ambitious monk. M. Olavidé was informed by ſome friends whom he ſtill had in the Sierra Morena, that the preceding year father Romuald had accuſed him to the miniſter of foreign affairs, of being wanting in reſpect to divine worſhip and eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, in the new colonies, and of having in his poſſeſſion prohibited books: and alſo that he had but a ſhort time before accuſed him to the holy office.

However alarming this information might be, M. Olavidé confided in the rectitude of his own conſcience. He ſtill remained at Madrid, and ſolicited the miniſters to convey to the foot of

the throne the proofs of his innocence, or at leaſt to plead his long ſervices, and the important offices he had held, which ſeemed to recommend him to the indulgence of the monarch. He went ſeveral times to the grand inquiſitor with offers to prove his ſubmiſſion to the holy office; he proteſted the purity of his faith and offered to retract the expreſſions which might have eſcaped him to the prejudice of religion. His offers and proteſtations were coldly received. He thence concluded that legal but ſecret meaſures were taking for his juſtification; and the myſterious ſilence of the holy office appeared to him no bad omen.

During his ſtay of almoſt a year at Madrid, he was particularly circumſpect in his whole conduct, hoping thus to avert the ſtorm which however ſoon after broke over his head.

The 14th of November, 1776, a grandee of Spain in quality of *Alguaſil Mayor* of

of the inquiſition, accompanied by ſome officers of juſtice, arreſted him in his houſe, and conveyed him to the priſon of the holy office. From that moment he was loſt to his wife, children, relations, and friends. Until the day his ſentence was pronounced they were ignorant of the part of the world he was in, whether he were dead or alive, and had given over all hopes of ever ſeeing him more.

At the ſame time his wife, who was at Carolina, where ſhe had remained during the abſence of her huſband, ſaw the officers of the inquiſition arrive and ſeize all his property, books, and papers; whilſt another detachment did the ſame at his houſe in Seville.

Theſe proceedings produced different ſenſations in the minds of different men. The rivals of M. Olavidé, the enemies which envy and ambition had excited againſt him and ſome devotees, conſtant in their zeal for the cauſe of religion, con-

ſidered it as a triumph. Several of his more rigid countrymen thought it a juſt chaſtiſement for the imprudencies attributed to him; for in fact, ſaid they, he might have had other judges, and not have eſcaped unpuniſhed. Conſternation was however the moſt general ſentiment. Each began to tremble for himſelf, fearing leaſt he ſhould find in his moſt intimate connexions both ſpies and accuſers. How might it afterwards be poſſible to enjoy the ſweet communications of confidence and friendſhip? What man was prudent enough and ſufficiently ſure of himſelf to concert all his actions, weigh his expreſſions, and never to furniſh matter of accuſation for a ſecret enemy, a corrupted ſervant, a friend, or even a ſon led aſtray by his ſcruples? The holy office is perhaps more juſt than ſevere; but its proceeding is dreadful. How can an accuſed perſon diſculpate himſelf when he neither knows his crime nor accuſers? And how is it poſſible to avert the thunderbolt which is prepared in ſilence and in the

the obſcurity of its inacceſſible labyrinth?

Such were the reaſonings dictated by terror during the impriſonment of M. Olavidé. After paſſing from a profound calm to the agitations of a tempeſt, dangers will ever appear greater. The moſt intrepid minds are ſhaken by unexpected ſtrokes; the apparent ſupineneſs of the inquiſition, had re-eſtabliſhed ſecurity, but its ſudden revival terrified every one. The firſt impreſſion was beſides rendered more laſting by other circumſtances. The monks thought the time of regaining their loſt power was arrived. Scarcely was M. Olavidé arreſted before it was known that a miſſion of capuchins at Seville had abandoned themſelves to the exceſs of their zeal, and loudly exclaimed againſt the profane theatres to which he had given encouragement in that city. At the ſame time the inquiſitions of the provinces partook of the triumph of that capital, and made an eſſay of their returning power. The inquiſition of Cadiz

diz renewed a ceremony which had been neglected for half a century, and which is annually repeated at Madrid, that of ſolemnly reading all the decrees of the holy office, the bulls upon which its power is founded, and all the anathemas fulminated againſt hereſy and irreligion. This ceremony was accompanied with every thing that could ſtrike awe into the multitude. An edict was publiſhed which enjoined all the faithful of above ten years of age to be preſent at it, under pain of excommunication. It ſeemed as if the holy office wiſhed to make a mockery of the alarm of the public.

The proſecution however of M. Olavidé was carried on with the utmoſt ſecreſy. His fate was decided after a rigorous impriſonment of a year and ſeven days, during which he had not the conſolation of having even one of his ſervants ſuffered to approach him.

On

On the 21ſt of November, 1778, an aſſembly was held in the hall of the inquiſition, to which forty perſons of different orders were invited, among whom were ſeveral grandees of Spain, general officers, prieſts, and monks.

The ſitting laſted three hours and a half. The criminal appeared cloathed in yellow, carrying in his hand a green taper, and accompanied by two miniſters of the holy office. All the proceedings were read. The moſt intereſting part was the circumſtantial relation he himſelf had given in of his whole life. In this he confeſſed that in his travels he had frequented the ſociety of atheiſts, namely, Voltaire and Rouſſeau, with whom he had diſcuſſed queſtions concerning religion, though without ſuffering himſelf to be ſeduced by their arguments; that notwithſtanding, he had returned to Spain with many prejudices againſt the clergy, and perſuaded that the privileges and opinions of the church of Rome were repugnant to the

the proſperity of ſtates; that ſince he had been placed over the colonies of the Sierra Morena, he had openly and without reflection, avowed his opinion concerning the obſtacles which retarded their progreſs, the infallibility of the pope, and the tribunal of the inquiſition; but that none of his expreſſions had the meaning attributed to them by thoſe who heard him.

Afterward were produced the depoſitions of ſeventy-eight witneſſes, who accuſed him of having frequently ſpoken the language of deiſts, uttered blaſphemy, and ridiculed the prieſts. To ſeveral of theſe charges he pleaded guilty, and denied others, aſſerting that in all theſe caſes his words had never expreſſed his true ſentiments; that his object had ſometimes only been to animate the induſtry of the ſettlers confided to his care, among whom the exterior practices of religion were frequently nothing more than pretexts for idleneſs; and that when he declaimed againſt the ill conſequences

ſequences of celibacy his view had merely been to encourage population, ſo neceſſary to the proſperity of his country.

This defence appeared neither reſpectful nor ſatisfactory. It was alledged againſt him as a crime that he had uſed every means of eluding the juſtice of the holy office, had intercepted letters to engage the witneſſes brought againſt him to retract; and theſe circumſtances were all proved by writings under his own hand.

In ſhort, the tribunal adjudged him attainted and convicted of every charge made againſt him; and in conſequence pronounced his ſentence, which declared him heretic in form. He interrupted the reading by denying that he deſerved ſo harſh an appellation. This was, during the final and terrible ſitting, the laſt effort of his firmneſs. He fainted on the bench on which he ſat, and as ſoon as he recovered himſelf, the reading

ing of the ſentence was continued. It confiſcated all his property, declared him incapable of holding any employment, exiled him to twenty leagues from Madrid, from every place of royal reſidence, from Seville, the theatre of his fallen authority, and from Lima his country; it condemned him to be ſhut up eight years in a monaſtery, where he was to peruſe ſuch works of piety as ſhould be put into his hands, to do penance, and to go to confeſſion once a month. He afterwards made his ſolemn abjuration, and with all the ceremony preſcribed by the canons was abſolved from the cenſures he had incurred.

All who were preſent declare that he ſhewed the moſt unequivocal marks of reſignation and repentance, and that it was impoſſible to refuſe him their compaſſion.

It has been aſſerted that the perſonal clemency of the monarch, and (who will believe it) that of the grand inquiſitor,

tor, mitigated the rigour of his ſentence; that ſome of his judges were of opinion he ought to ſuffer death, and ſeveral of them that a public puniſhment ſhould be inflicted upon him; it is even ſaid, that one of theſe rigorous ſentences was ſupported by a perſon near the monarch, whoſe fanatical zeal for the cauſe of God, made him believe the ſcandal ought to be repaired by a public example. It was however difficult to learn the reſt of the ſecret particulars of this affair. Curioſity and indiſcretion were reſtrained by fear. A conjecture, an expreſſion, might be miſinterpreted and imbitter the life of the author. The greateſt ſecurity ſeemed to be in ſilence. People were in a ſituation ſomething like that deſcribed by Tacitus in the life of Agricola: *Adempto per inquiſitiones et loquendi audiendique commercio.*

It muſt however be obſerved in favour of the Spaniſh government, that this criſis did not continue long. The mind

mind became more eaſy by reflecting upon the benevolence and equity of the ſovereign, and the wiſdom of his miniſters, particularly of one who at that time was called near his perſon. Even the peculiar circumſtances of the victim who had juſt been ſacrificed contributed to diſſipate public terror. His talents and ſucceſs had excited envy before he had drawn upon himſelf the animadverſion of the holy office; and the people, become more calm, hoped to make their obſcurity a rampart againſt the rigours of the tribunal. What followed proved that they were but momentary, and that milder principles reigned in the privy council of the king.

It is true the ſentence of M. Olavidé was begun to be carried into execution. He was confined in a convent of la Mancha. But ſoon afterwards, complaining of the ill ſtate of his health, he obtained permiſſion to go and drink the mineral waters in the neighbourhood; finding but little benefit from them, liberty was given

given him to go to others in Catalonia, which he hoped would prove more efficacious. Had his ſentence been intended to be executed in all the ſeverity with which it had been pronounced, means would not have been wanting to have hindered him from taking advantage of the proximity of the frontiers. He eaſily deceived the vigilance of his keepers, and bidding a final adieu to his country, which ſtill was dear to him, eſcaped to France where he was preceded by his reputation, and received as a martyr to intolerance. He has taken the title of count de Pilos and leads an agreeable life, ſeeking in the ſociety of men of letters, the converſation of the friends he has acquired, and the moderate enjoyment of the pleaſures of the capital, conſolation for his loſs of power and patronage; and what is ſtill more difficult to him, for that baniſhment which for ever ſeparates him from his fellow-citizens. The court of Spain, it is ſaid, has reclaimed him, but that of France, without pretending that the latter king-

dom may with impunity become the aſylum of thoſe who are proſcribed by a nation in alliance with it, has amicably repreſented to the cabinet of Madrid, that the crimes of M. Olavide were not of a nature like to thoſe of which poliſhed ſtates had mutually agreed to give up the perpetrators. It is added, that the court of Madrid, whoſe ſeverity is far from being implacable, and which it is imagined had yielded only to the impulſe of a perſecuting ſentiment not its own, has forborne to inſiſt farther on its demand.

Since this event the inquiſition has in one caſe juſtified the apprehenſions it had excited. Toleration, or which is the ſame thing, humanity, ſhuddered at the torments inflicted upon a poor woman, who, having been convicted of *ſorcery* and *witchcraft*, was burned at Seville, in 1780, in conſequence of the ſentence of that tribunal.

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Except in theſe inſtances its authority has been exerciſed only at long intervals upon ſome individuals, who, having uſed irreligious expreſſions, were pardoned upon retractation, after having been enjoined a trifling penance.

I was at Madrid in 1784, when a circumſtance happened which proves that this tribunal, notwithſtanding the terror its forms have ever inſpired, is ſometimes leſs ſevere than many ſecular courts of juſtice.

A beggar who generally took his ſtand at the door of a church, had employed his leiſure in inventing and ſelling a ſpecies of powder to which he attributed miraculous effects. It was compoſed of ingredients the particulars of which would make the reader bluſh. The beggar had drawn up ſome ſingular formularies to be repeated at the time of taking the powder; and required, to give it its effect, that thoſe who took it ſhould put themſelves into certain poſtures

more eaſily imagined than deſcribed. His compoſition was one of thoſe amorous philtres in which our ignorant anceſtors had ſo much faith; his, he pretended, had the power of reſtoring a diſguſted lover, and of ſoftening the heart of a cruel fair one. Whatever flatters our paſſions has ſome claim to our credulity. The impoſtor wanted not for cuſtomers in that claſs over which the marvellous has ſo much empire; and a few accidental ſucceſſes gave reputation to his noſtrum. He aſſociated himſelf with ſome common women who diſtributed it. His powders, however, as it will eaſily be believed, were often employed without effect. Moſt of the perſons whom he deceived, leſs irritated than aſhamed, kept profound ſilence; but at length others made complaints which were ſoon carried to the holy office. The beggar was arreſted and led with his accomplices to the inquiſition, where they were proſecuted in form. The impudent empiric avowed every thing; he explained the compoſition of his powder

and

and gave up his receipt and formularies. The reſult was one of the moſt ſingular proceedings which ever came before a tribunal. The day of vengeance arrived. The judges, criminals, and a crowd of ſpectators of both ſexes aſſembled in the church of the dominican nuns at Madrid. Divine ſervice was begun, but afterwards interrupted to read the ſtrange proceedings. The temple of the moſt high was not ſuppoſed to be profaned by a recital of the obſcenities contained in the ſummary. Such were the laws of the holy office, and theſe were not diſpenſed with in favour of ſome women of quality, who hid their confuſion behind their fans. Even the nuns, leſs attached to their ſcruples than to the privileges of their church, loſt no part of the ceremony, and their modeſt ears were inſulted with the ſhameful relation. The ſentence was pronounced and executed after maſs was over.

The beggar was declared attainted and convicted of ſorcery, profanation and impoſture, and condemned to perpetual impriſonment after having been whipped in the principal quarters of the city. Two women, his accomplices, were treated with more indulgence.

The three criminals ſoon left the church; they were mounted upon aſſes, and each clothed in a *ſambenito* covered with painted devils and other ſymbolical figures. They wore on their heads the fatal pyramidical bonnet called *coroza*, which reſembles, perhaps, too much the pontifical mitre of our prelates. The man was naked down to his waiſt, and expoſed to the eyes of the public a plumpneſs which could be attributed to nothing but the ſale of his powders. The proceſſion was headed by the marqueſs of Cogolludo, the eldeſt ſon of the duke of Medina Celi, who in quality of Alguaſil Mayor preſided at the ceremony. He was followed by ſeveral grandees of

Spain

Spain, aſſociates of the holy office, and other officers of the tribunal. The windows were filled, and the ſtreets thronged with curious ſpectators. The triumphant entry of a hero, returning to his country after having ſaved it, could not have been more pompous than the ceremony of which a vile criminal was the object; and this ſpectacle, by which curioſity was ſo much excited, unlike to others of the ſame kind, offered nothing which might wound ſenſibility. Never was a ſentence ſo well deſerved executed with greater mildneſs. The criminal ſtopped from time to time, and ſcarcely did the executioner touch his ſhoulders with the whip, when ſome charitable hand preſented him with a glaſs of Spaniſh wine to enable him to finiſh his career. It were to be wiſhed that the holy office had never exerciſed greater ſeverity.

In fact, this tribunal is at preſent far from being ſo dreadful as in other countries it is generally believed. Its forms

are, however, terrifying even to thoſe who are perſuaded of its equity. Proſecutions are carried on with the greateſt ſecrecy; the advocate granted to criminals to make their defence, cannot ſpeak to or ſee them but in the preſence of the inquiſitors. But the moſt odious proceeding of all is, that when the depoſitions received againſt any perſon accuſed are communicated to him, the names of the accuſers are carefully concealed *. It is to be regretted, that a country in which the laws are daily improved, and where every department of

* The inſtitutions according to which the holy office regulates its proceedings are of the year 1561. Theſe were become very ſcarce, but have been reprinted among the proofs and illuſtrations of a book which appeared in 1785, under the title of *Maximas ſobre recurſos de fuerza*. We imagine the reader will not be diſpleaſed at finding a tranſlation of them at the end of this work. The peruſal of them may perhaps rectify ſome of his ideas of the holy office, by informing him of all the precautions they preſcribe, that the accuſed may not be condemned but upon the fulleſt conviction.

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government becomes more and more enlightened, ſhould ſtill continue in one of its tribunals a mode of proceeding, the inconveniencies of which have been perceived by every modern ſyſtem of juriſprudence, and which beſides is not eſſential to the end of its inſtitution. When the holy office ſhall publicly proſecute criminals, and name and confront their accuſers, when it ſhall allow them every means of proving their innocence, will its laws be leſs obſerved? or will the ſacred intereſts committed to its care be leſs attended to? The apologiſts for its preſent conſtitution will undoubtedly object, that the certainty accuſers have of the ſecrecy of their depoſitions encourages others to give farther information, which without ſuch a precaution might never be obtained; that moſt informers would be reſtrained by a falſe ſhame, the fear of expoſing themſelves to the indignation of the public and the reſentment of the accuſed, or by ſome other motives. But would its zeal for the cauſe of God make

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it apprehend a diminution of the number of its juſtifiers? I will not do it ſo much injury as to believe this. Purity of faith and reſpect for true religion ought certainly to be vigilantly maintained; and an enemy to either merits to be puniſhed. But can we imagine that gratitude to benefactors, filial affection, domeſtic fidelity, and the charitable indulgence we owe to our fellow creatures are leſs eſtimable virtues in the ſight of the Supreme Being? And would his cauſe be betrayed, if leſs praiſe-worthy motives ſhould prevent ſome accuſations. Beſides, have not other tribunals different means of diſcovering the guilty? Are not thoſe which are charged with the proſecution of offenders ſufficient to take cognizance of offences, and legally to inflict puniſhment on thoſe whoſe crimes materially affect the intereſt of religion and ſociety? And do criminals of this deſcription often eſcape the hands of juſtice? With reſpect to ſuch as would remain undiſcovered, without the evidence of witneſſes,

neſſes whoſe indignation their actions might have excited, what can religion gain by their diſcovery? Their public puniſhment only makes a whole nation acquainted with the ſcandal which otherwiſe might have been confined to a few individuals. May not thoſe whoſe crimes have, if I may uſe the expreſſion, none but God for witneſs, be without any ill conſequence left to his vengeance, certainly much more juſt and leſs eaſy to elude than that of men?

In whatever light theſe reflections may be conſidered, I repeat that, the forms of procedure excepted, the inquiſition may at preſent be eſteemed as a model of equity and mildneſs. It takes every poſſible means of verifying the depoſitions it receives.

Let it not be ſaid that the reſentment of a ſecret enemy is ſufficient to provoke its rigours. It condemns not upon the evidence of one accuſer, nor without

out diſcuſſing the proofs of the accuſations. Serious and repeated crimes are neceſſary to incur its cenſures; which, with a little circumſpection in words and conduct relative to religion, are eaſily to be eſcaped, and men may live as little moleſted in Spain as in any other country in Europe. The indiſcrete zeal of ſome of the commiſſaries of the inquiſition, diſturbs, indeed, in ſome places, the quiet of the inhabitants, by entering their houſes to confiſcate pictures eſteemed too licentious, or prohibited books; but this zeal is moſtly repreſſed, either by the court or the grand inquiſitor, who, in the preſent reign, has always been a learned and prudent prelate.

I was informed at Cadiz, that ſome French merchants, having received a conſignment of leather from one of our manufactories, were much alarmed at ſeeing the officers of the inquiſition enter their houſes. Theſe deſired to ſee the leather newly arrived, and having obſerved

obſerved that it bore the image of the holy virgin, which was the mark of the manufacture, exclaimed againſt the profanation. They remarked that the leather being intended to make ſhoes, the image of the Mother of Chriſt ran the hazard of being trodden under foot, and therefore confiſcated it. The affair was referred to the ſupreme tribunal at Madrid. The merchants, much alarmed, had recourſe to the court, by means of their ambaſſador. The court and the tribunal received the complaint in the manner it merited. The officers of the inquiſition were enjoined not to moleſt ſtrangers under ſuch trifling pretexts, and the merchants recovered their leather without farther trouble.

On other occaſions, ſtill more recent, the miniſter and the grand inquiſitor himſelf, have protected the inhabitants againſt the cavils of the ſubalterns of the holy office. In a city of Andaluſia they attempted to give diſturbance to a French houſe, becauſe they were

were Proteſtants; and when it was obſerved to them that the Engliſh and other northern nations were tolerated in Spain, notwithſtanding they were heretics, they anſwered, that the Catholic religion was the only one in France. The cauſe, however, of this perſecuted houſe was no ſooner brought before the court than it was gained.

In fine, though we ſhould admit that bigotry is more prevalent in the provinces than in the capital, no great inconveniencies can ever ariſe from it; becauſe the ſentences of the provincial tribunals have no force until they have obtained the ſanction of that of Madrid, which, on that account, bears the name of *Suprema*. Beſides, the court ſcrutinizes more ſtrictly than ever the proceedings of the holy office, and certainly not with an intention of increaſing its ſeverity.

It was enacted, in 1784, that when the office ſhould have finiſhed the proſecution

ſecution of any grandee of Spain, any of his majeſty's miniſters, any officers in the army, member of a tribunal, or any perſon in place, the whole proceedings ſhould be laid before the king to be reviſed and examined. By this law the principal perſons in the kingdom have obtained an additional ſecurity againſt the arbitrary rigours of the holy office. It is to be regretted, that it was calculated to defend thoſe who cannot want protection rather than thoſe whoſe obſcurity frequently renders their complaints ineffectual, and who conſequently are expoſed to be unjuſtly treated with more impunity. But the people are almoſt every where oppreſſed, or forgotten, by the laws, becauſe they have no part in framing them.

The holy office to this day receives a certain tax from each veſſel that arrives in any of the ports of Spain, in conſequence of the examination it is authorized to make, in order to ſee that the veſſel contains nothing that may be offen-

offenſive to religion. The ſearch has for a long time been neglected, but the duty is ſtill paid to the office. Were this the only complaint againſt the inquiſition, we ſhould eaſily be reconciled to it.

I ſhall conclude what I have to ſay, concerning this tribunal, with a very ſincere wiſh, unaccompanied by any ſentiment of aſperity, that the kings of Spain may believe themſelves ſufficiently aſſured of the obedience of their ſubjects, the vigilance of their temporal courts of judicature, and the pious zeal of Spaniſh prelates, to be convinced the holy office is entirely unneceſſary.

Before I quit the ſubject, I ſhall take notice of a political body, which many ſtrangers confound with the inquiſition, but which has no other relation with it than their common epithet.

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This is the holy hermandad, much ſpoken of in Spaniſh novels; it is no more than a confraternity, in different parts of the kingdom of Caſtile, whoſe only object is to watch over the ſafety of the country by purſuing and apprehending thoſe who diſturb the public peace. It is ſubordinate to the council of Caſtile, from which it receives its regulations. One of the ſtricteſt is that which prevents its juriſdiction from extending to cities. The principal detachments from it are at Toledo, Ciudad Rodrigo and Talavera.

In following the plan I had laid down for myſelf, I have begun with the interior adminiſtration of Spain, and the council of Caſtile, which naturally leads to the adminiſtration of juſtice, to legiſlation, and by theſe to the tribunal of the holy office. I ſhall next take a view of the different councils of the monarchy: which will enable the reader to form a proper idea of the conſtitution of the kingdom.

The council of finances, like the council of Caſtile, is divided into ſeveral chambers:

The *Sala*, or chamber *de Govierno*, charged with the adminiſtration of finances.

The chamber *de Juſticia*, which judges proceſſes, and has cognizance of every thing relating to the farmers of the revenue, contractors and ſmugglers. It is alſo the tribunal for thoſe whoſe cauſes are referred to the council of finance.

The *Sala de Millones*, for every thing that relates to taxes and impoſts.

The *Sala de la Unica contribucion*, of which I ſhall ſpeak more fully hereafter, the buſineſs of which is to compile a univerſal regiſter of Spain.

Laſtly, the *Contaduria Mayor*, or chamber of accounts, which examines the accounts of the treaſurers of the army and

and navy, all leaſes and contracts between the king and his ſubjects, and the accounts of ſtate creditors; but its deciſions muſt receive the ſanction of the juſtice chamber of the council of finance.

This muſt not be confounded with the *Contaduria de Valores*, a particular office, the functions of which are to keep an account of all the rents in the kingdom, and the favours and privileges granted by the king to cities and communities.

The royal treaſure is kept by two general treaſurers, members of the council of finances, who are alternately in office for a year, under the inſpection of the council; three general directors of rents who attend to their receipts, and have under them the collectors, and commiſſioners of duties, and their numerous fiſcal agents.

In 1714, Philip V. ſubſtituted the immediate receipt inſtead of the farm for

all interior as well as cuſtom-houſe revenues. But at the end of two years, the old method was again adopted; the council of finances left the collection of duties upon merchandize to commiſſioners, but again farmed out the interior taxes. This form exiſted until 1742. The people ſuffered by it with the impatience excited by evils, which proceed not immediately from the power to which they are obliged to be ſubject. The farmers were oppreſſive in order to extort from them exact accounts of their property, and tax it accordingly.

Repreſentations were made to Philip the Fifth, which ſtated all the irregularities in the collection. The repreſentation of 1734, may be found in the *Econonica politica de Zabala*; and in the inſtitute of Don Martin de Loynaz, 1747. It is neceſſary to read theſe to be convinced, that wherever there are men there are abuſes alſo, and to be leſs ſenſible of thoſe to which we are witneſſes or victims.

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Campillo, however, who had paſſed through all the offices of adminiſtration, and who poſſeſſed firmneſs and extenſive knowledge, had frequently aſked the Spaniſh farmers-general what they gained by their farms: according to their own accounts, they were conſtantly loſers. Campillo, determined to learn the truth, ſuddenly put ſix of the twenty-two provinces, of which Caſtile is compoſed, into commiſſion. The marquis de la Enſenada extended this meaſure to fourteen others, in 1747, and ſince that time all the finances of Spain, with a few exceptions, have been managed by commiſſioners.

Two years afterwards Ferdinand VI. adopted a project which had often been agitated in Spain, that of reducing all the impoſts to one, or at leaſt of converting into one contribution thoſe which form what are called provincial rents, and produce about thirty-four or thirty-five millions of livres (or about a million and a half ſterling). In 1749,

an order appeared, which eſtabliſhed a particular commiſſion for this purpoſe, and provided that all reſearches, declarations and verifications ſhould be made at the king's expence. The commiſſion took the name of *Sala de la Unica Contribucion.* It employs thirty thouſand perſons, and its annual expence is upwards of three millions of livres (125000l). It muſt be allowed, not always to make compariſons to our diſadvantage, that the reveries of our œconomiſts upon a ſingle impoſt have not been ſo expenſive.

Until the operations of this chamber, of which the public has no great opinion, ſhall have anſwered the purpoſe for which ſo much care and money have been applied, the defective form of the chamber of finances will remain; the people ſuffer by it, and good citizens loudly complain; but the ſovereigns of the preſent family, although at different times aſſiſted by able miniſters, have not yet been able to find a remedy.

The

The finances of Spain are divided into two claſſes, which compoſe almoſt all the revenues of the king: *General Rents* and *Provincial Rents.*

The firſt ariſe from duties paid at the frontiers upon merchandize entering or going out of the kingdom. The duties are different with reſpect to name and rate in different provinces. In thoſe where the Moors longeſt reſided, they have preſerved the Arabian name *Almojarifazgo*, firſt given to a cuſtom-houſe duty that has been ſucceſſively increaſed, and upon which the Spaniards have ſpeculated more or leſs advantageouſly with commercial nations. It is ſtill known by the ſame name in the Canary iſlands, where it produces to the king ſix per cent. upon all merchandize.

In moſt of the other provinces it has been increaſed by degrees to fifteen per cent. upon every article of importation or exportation.

In Catalonia, the duties of exportation and importation, received by the king, are not four per cent. *ad valorem.*

Although the frontier of Navarre, on the side of France, be free, a duty is nevertheless paid there of five per cent. upon every commodity which has passed it to enter, and three and a half for whatever is to go beyond it.

There is another species of duty upon the frontiers of Portugal, which are called *Puertos secos*, dry ports. According to a tarif made but in 1668, a duty of twelve and three-fourths per cent. is there required upon all kinds of merchandize.

Hence it already appears, that the finances of France are not the only ones which are complicated, different in different places, full of exceptions, and exposed to the caprice of those who collect the imposts. What I have mentioned

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is but a ſlight ſketch of the complication of thoſe of Spain.

Beſides theſe general laws which extend to the greateſt part of merchandize, there are ſeveral articles, ſuch as cacao, chocolate, ſugar and paper, which pay particular duties.

The whole produce of the general rents when they were farmed did not amount to ſix millions and a half of livres (about 270000l.) A few years after they were put into commiſſion they produced ten millions (above 400000l.) and have ſince increaſed. In 1776, they produced about thirteen millions (580000), and ſomething more than eleven (450000l.) in 1777.

There are ſome other duties which may be included in the general rents, although differently collected, and their produce enters not the ſame cheſt; ſuch are

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The duties of the *office of health*, firſt eſtabliſhed at Cadiz, and ſince extended to the other ſea ports of the kingdom.

The duties of the *grand admiral*, which were appropriated to the treaſury by Ferdinand V. in 1748.

Two other duties, one under the name of *Lanzas*, the other of *Medias Annatas*. Demi annates or half firſt fruits. The firſt is an annual contribution paid by all the grandees of Spain, and every citizen honoured with a title of Caſtile. For theſe it was fixed at nine hundred livres (37l. 10s.) The duty of *Medias Annatas* is paid at each deſcent of the dignity of grandee or title of Caſtile, and may be eſtimated at five thouſand five hundred livres (230l.) once paid. It is alſo levied upon all employments on entering upon which oaths are taken, and conſiſts in half the ſalary of one year. I know not the exact amount of theſe two duties united. The *rent of wools*,

wools, which is the duty paid upon their going out of the kingdom in proportion to their quality and the nature of the diſtrict in which they are produced; and which ſince the year 1558, when it was firſt levied, has been at various times augmented. The farmers did not give three millions of livres for it; but at preſent it produces almoſt ſix.

The produce from the ſale of ſalt, which is excluſively ſold for the king's account, in the provinces of the crown of Arragon, as well as in thoſe of Caſtile at twenty-two rials a *fanegue*, taken at the ſalt-pits, about five ſols and a half (2½d.) a meaſure, which weighs from ſixty to eighty pounds, makes a ſeparate article in the finances of Spain. The price of ſalt is uniform throughout the kingdom, ſome drawback however is granted in the ſea-ports in favour of ſalting proviſions. The dry ſalt-pits, and thoſe of Andaluſia, are not ſufficient for the national conſumption, on which account great quantities of ſalt are brought

brought from Portugal. This is diſtributed to the people every ſix months, and the firſt quantity is not paid for until the delivery of the ſecond. Seizures and executions are rare in Spain with reſpect to ſalt; and the unpitying avidity of the treaſury does not there oppoſe the deſign of nature which has given to the inhabitants of the earth this article of firſt neceſſity in abundance, and intended not that they ſhould find in it one of the ſources of oppreſſion under which they groan. For theſe reaſons, the revenue from ſalt is not conſiderable; it ſcarcely exceeds four millions, which is not the tenth part of what it produces in France, notwithſtanding the population of this kingdom is not more than double that of Spain.

There is ſtill a greater difference between the profits ariſing to theſe two kingdoms from the excluſive ſale of tobacco for the account of the ſovereign. According to the calculations of Mr. Necker, they amount in France to one hundred

hundred and twenty-ſix millions of livres (5250000l.) In Spain they ſcarcely produce twenty millions, (830000 l.) yet in the article of ſmoaking tobacco, the conſumption muſt be more conſiderable there than in France. All this tobacco is furniſhed by the Portugueſe, who procure it from Braſil, and the Spaniards prefer it to every other. By virtue of the laſt leaſe from the court of Spain, the Portugueſe give it at leſs than ten ſols (five pence) a pound, and the king ſells it at ſix livres (five ſhillings). At the expiration of the leaſe, if the Americans offer it at a lower price, it is ſaid they may have the preference.

All the tobacco made into ſnuff which is legally conſumed in Spain, comes from the Iſland of Cuba. The king pays rather dearer for it than for that from Braſil, and ſells it at ſix livres a pound alſo. However, all is not clear profit to the treaſury, the ſalaries of perſons employed, the expence of ſnuff manu-

manufactories, &c. which amount to forty ſols a pound, muſt be deducted.

It will eaſily be imagined that all tobacco not ſold on the king's account, is ſeverely prohibited; but it will ſcarcely be imagined that the prohibitory law, the publication of which is from time to time repeated, makes the puniſhment for ſelling it, in certain caſes, *death*. The law is as ſeldom executed as all others which are too ſevere, and where there is frequent temptation to violate them. Great quantities of tobacco are ſmuggled into Spain: and the ſellers of it, by taking a guinea a pound for the riſks they run to gratify the inclination which men always have for whatever is forbidden them, are conſiderable gainers by its prohibition.

There is beſides a particular tribunal which, under the name of *Junta del tobaco*, determines all the cauſes relative to the duty upon that article, and enforces the law

law which prohibits the *raſped* (rapé) *tobacco*, the name by which that not manufactured in Spain is known. This is reduced to a very fine powder and afterwards mixed with a ſpecies of fine earth of a reddiſh hue which gives it its colour and oilineſs.

When I left Madrid, it was in agitation to permit the Spaniards the uſe of raſped tobacco. It was calculated that the treaſury would be a gainer by this meaſure, and that it would be a conſiderable ſaving to the ſnuff-takers, now expoſed to the impoſitions of ſmugglers. I know not what became of the project. Spain would have no need of recurring to other nations to carry it into execution. She is perhaps the richeſt of any in the article of tobacco, as well as in ſeveral other reſpects. The cultivation of this plant has perfectly ſucceeded in moſt of her colonies, as in Mexico, upon the coaſt of Caracas, and more eſpecially in Louiſiana and Trinidad, two colonies of which the tobacco will perhaps one day

day be preferred to that of every other country. The cultivation of it in Mexico was not begun before the year 1765. In 1778, the ſale of it on the king's account in that colony alone produced four millions of piaſtres, about twenty millions of livres (above 800000l.) In 1784, it produced upwards of ſix millions of piaſtres; whence, however, muſt be deducted the expences of cultivation and thoſe of collecting the duty. But the miniſter of the Indies, whoſe vigilance and activity, ſucceſsfully attacks all abuſes, expects the moſt favourable effects from the reforms of this kind which he has undertaken. He alſo propoſes to ſupply Mexico with the tobacco of Louiſiana, which is better and leſs dear, and to extend to the reſt of Spaniſh America, this ſource of revenues to the royal treaſury, which during ſo long a time has received nothing from theſe extenſive colonies.

There are alſo other articles in *eſtanco*, that is, excluſively ſold for the king's account.

account. Theſe are, brandy *, lead, gunpowder, cards, Spaniſh wax and ſtamped paper. I omit other little local duties, the particulars of which would carry me beyond the limits I have preſcribed myſelf in this work.

But the moſt reprehenſible part of the taxes of Spain is the ſecond of the claſſes, into which we at firſt divided them, the *provincial rents:* a ſpecies of impoſt which chiefly falling upon the conſumption of the moſt neceſſary articles, burdens the people, and is one of the greateſt obſtacles to induſtry.

Government is indeed convinced of the impropriety; but it proceeds from

* Brandy and other ſpirituous liquors are not properly in *eſtanco*. The ſale of them has been free throughout the kingdom ſince 1746; but the following year the council propoſed to eſtabliſh a magazine for the king's account, and moſt people prefer purchaſing there becauſe the liquors are better and cheaper.

circumſtances which it would be neceſſary to change at the ſame time that it was removed; the continual urgency of ſtate neceſſities, has never permitted government to riſk the ſafety of its revenues by experiments which might create confuſion, or be of doubtful ſucceſs. To produce ſuch revolutions, favourable conjunctures would be neceſſary, and a ſovereign and miniſters who ſhould not be alarmed at the clamours ever excited by innovations, and who, after having choſen from different ſyſtems that beſt adapted to the happineſs of the people, and the leaſt offenſive to received prejudices, ſhould have ſufficient reſolution and conſtancy to introduce it ſlowly, without violent efforts; and finally, who not too eager to enjoy the fruits of their labour, would not ſacrifice to the vain pleaſure of producing a great revolution, the advantage of effecting one both durable and ſolid. But this union of circumſtances cannot

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but be very rare in Spain as well as in other countries.

In the mean time the ſubjects of the Spaniſh monarchy are expoſed to a moſt deſtructive ſyſtem of taxation. The provincial rents are, Firſt, the produce of a duty upon wine, oil, meat, vinegar, candles, &c. The firſt time this was levied was in the year 1590. Philip II. overwhelmed by the weight of the ruinous enterpriſes to which he was impelled by his ambition, propoſed it to the Cortes, who conſented upon conditions, moſt of which have been violated. This grant, which has ſince been renewed every ſix years, has had different augmentations, called the ſervices of the *Millones*, becauſe it was for a certain number of millions of ducats that they were made. This impoſt is collected in two modes, either immediately by the commiſſioners of finance, or by way of ſubſcription; *encabezamientos.*

The ſecond method has only the advantage of diminiſhing the number of perſons employed by the treaſury; but it is in reality more oppreſſive to the people. The diſtribution of the ſum for which many cities, boroughs, and communities have ſubſcribed is arbitrarily made by the magiſtracy of each, who eſtabliſh a public magazine or warehouſe (*abaſto*) where individuals are obliged to purchaſe by retail the articles ſubject to the duty. The lower claſſes of people who cannot, like perſons in eaſy circumſtances, lay in a ſtock, feel all the weight of this odious policy. Their houſes are ſearched to ſee that they conſume nothing but what they purchaſe from the abaſto; hence ariſe oppreſſive proſecutions, which ſometimes double to thoſe leaſt able to afford it their proportion of the ſum the city or community to which they belong has ſubſcribed; ſo true it is, that the powerful are every where favoured at the expence of the weak,

weak, whilſt the ſtate gains nothing by the oppreſſion of the latter.

Secondly. The *provincial rents* alſo conſiſt of the *alcabale*, a duty paid upon the ſale of all moveables and immoveables.

This was firſt granted by the Cortes, in 1342. It was then but a twentieth of the thing ſold. In 1349, it was increaſed to a tenth, and rendered perpetual. In the ſixteenth century it received four additions, each an hundredth part; whence they received the name of *Cientos*.

Theſe two duties united, and collected together under the common denominations of *alcabale y cientos*, ought therefore, ſtrictly ſpeaking, to amount to fourteen per cent. but they vary in different cities and provinces according to the privileges granted by the ſovereign, which in ſome places have entirely ſuperſeded them; and they are no where levied to their utmoſt extent, which

however does not prevent their being burthenſome to commerce and induſtry.

Thirdly. The *tercias reales* are another impoſt jointly collected with the provincial rents; they are the two-ninths which the court of Rome, in 1274, permitted the kings of Spain to receive upon all the tenths of their kingdom. They are received in kind from the produce of the earth, and afterwards ſold for the king's account. This impoſt ſcarcely produces fifteen hundred thouſand livres, (62500l.) and would be ſuſceptible of a conſiderable augmentation, did not government, in collecting it, truſt to the unfaithful ſtatements of the eccleſiaſtical offices.

Fourthly. The *ordinary and extraordinary ſervice, and its fifteenth in the thouſand*, is a ſpecies of tax paid by the ignoble only, who in Spain are known by the denomination of *eſtado general*. It is collected with the *alcabale y cientos*, according to an aſſeſſment made by the tribu-

tribunals, in proportion to the known property of each of the contributors.

Fifthly. There is an impoſt upon the ſale of ſouda and barilla, with ſome other particular taxes, which cannot be enumerated in this general account.

Laſtly. The duties of entry into Madrid form another ſource of revenue for the king; they are at preſent farmed out to the community of *Gremios*, at ſeven millions and a half of reals. All the interior contributions of the provinces of the crown of Caſtile produce about thirty-four or thirty-five millions of livres Tournois (or ſomewhat above one million four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling). The provinces of the crown of Arragon have another form of taxation, and have no provincial rents, ſuch as thoſe of which we have ſpoken.

They are happily exempt from the *alcabale*, the place of which is there ſupplied by equivalent duties; they pay one general contribution, which each city, borough, and community aſſeſſes proportionately on its inhabitants. As ſome of theſe provinces were the laſt to acknowledge the authority of Philip V. that monarch, to puniſh their obſtinacy, deprived them of a part of their privileges, and eſtabliſhed a form of taxation different from that of the crown of Caſtile. But his intention was evaded; and, in fact, they are better treated in this reſpect than the reſt of the kingdom.

Catalonia, which more than any other province, had provoked the monarch's reſentment, was ſubjected to a regiſter in which all the lands were undervalued and taxed at eight per cent. upon the rents ariſing from them; but they ſcarcely pay more than one per cent. upon the real amount. To this regiſter was

was added, a tax upon induſtry, which not being arbitrarily aſſeſſed, is not burthenſome, and this double taxation is not prejudicial either to agriculture or induſtry in Catalonia.

The provinces of the crown of Arragon are beſides ſubject, like thoſe of Caſtile, to the impoſt called *tercias reales*, and obliged to take, at a fixed price, the articles ſalt, tobacco, lead, &c. which are ſold for the king's account.

They are alſo equally ſubject to the bull of the cruſade. The primitive object of this bull was to grant indulgencies to thoſe Spaniards who ſhould contribute, either by perſonal ſervice or ſubſcription, to ſupport the war againſt the infidels. The produce of the bull is ſtill employed in the ſame manner, ſince the Spaniſh monarchs who receive it are obliged to apply it to the ſupport of their fortreſſes and garriſons upon the coaſt of Africa. Until the reign of Ferdinand VI. this grant of the court of Rome

was

was to be renewed every five years; a ſubjection of the inconvenience of which Philip V. was ſufficiently ſenſible, on three different occaſions, when his quarrels with the holy ſee prevented him from obtaining a renewal of the bull. It was not until the compact of 1753, that it was made perpetual: ſince that time it has become a conſtant ſource of revenue to the treaſury; and if Spain, influenced by motives of policy and humanity, ſhould become reconciled to every infidel nation, as ſhe has been under the preſent reign to the Ottoman Port, the emperor of Morocco, and more recently to the regency of Algiers, this tax, though incapable of being applied to the purpoſe for which it was originally eſtabliſhed, would not the leſs continue to be levied.

The price of the bull is fixed at twenty-one quartos, about fourteen or fifteen ſols (7d. or 7½d.) No Catholic in Spain can diſpenſe with buying it with-

without having his orthodoxy ſuſpected. Provided with this bull, beſides the indulgences annexed to it, he has the liberty of eating meat with the conſent of his phyſician and confeſſor, as alſo to eat eggs and milk, on faſt days, and during Lent.

This ſpecies of voluntary taxation is received by a magiſtrate who bears the title of *Commiſſary-general of the Cruzada*; it produces to the king ſomething more than four millions and a half of livres (187500l.).

The clergy are not exempt from it, nor is this the only tax they pay.

In the firſt place, they are in part ſubject to that of *millones*; but to this it is neceſſary the pope ſhould conſent every ſix years by a brief. As there are many places where ſeparate accounts are not kept for eccleſiaſtics, they pay the whole tax in common with the laity; but the conſumption which each eccleſiaſtic

ſiaſtic makes in wine, oil and other articles ſubject to the *millones*, is carefully eſtimated and always in their favour. In this manner a calculation is made of what they ought to pay of the tax, and they are reimburſed whatever they have paid above this eſtimation.

But as, in moſt caſes, fact always differs a little from right, the clergy pay next to nothing of the *millones*, in the ſmaller diſtricts where they eaſily acquire a pre-eminence, and the weight of the tax naturally falls upon the body of the people.

There is another impoſt called *Subſidio*, to which eccleſiaſtics are alſo ſubject.

But the greateſt contribution levied upon them is the *eſcuſado*, which is alſo denominated *caſa dezmera*, *tenthed houſe*, becauſe it conſiſts in the right granted by the holy ſee to the kings of Spain, to appropriate to themſelves the moſt advan-

advantageous tenth of each pariſh, as well of the crown of Caſtile as that of Arragon.

This contribution, were it exactly levied and collected, would bring a very conſiderable ſum to the Spaniſh treaſury, but it has been made an object of ſpeculation and ſubſcription, which has conſiderably diminiſhed its produce. Under the reign of Ferdinand VI. a reſolution was taken to diſcover what it really would produce, and for this purpoſe it was for ſome years managed by commiſſioners. But before ſufficient information was obtained, the marquis of Squilace, coming to the adminiſtration of finances almoſt at the ſame time that Charles III. aſcended the throne, was too much in haſte to farm it. The *Junto* charged with the plan of one only impoſt, had proved in a memoir preſented in 1756, that for the crown of Caſtile it might be ſtated at four millions of livres Tournois; nevertheleſs the miniſter of finances farmed out, at three millions

lions, the whole of the *eſcuſado*, to the corporation of merchants at Madrid, commonly called the *Gremios*; and ſince then a part of the clergy have obtained a power of managing it on their own account, with which privilege they were allowed an abatement of one-third.

Notwithſtanding theſe reſtrictions, if we obſerve that the *tercias reales* are ſtill an impoſt, and at the ſame time recollect, that the kings of Spain have the power of granting penſions upon all benefices, even to a third of their produce, we ſhall find there is little foundation for the aſſertion, that the Spaniſh clergy do not contribute to the expences of government.

It may be imagined, that Spaniſh America is one great ſource of revenue to the royal treaſury, but hitherto its produce has been but trifling.

For a long time the expences of the adminiſtration of theſe immenſe colonies

nies were not defrayed by the revenues they produced; and it is only ſince the adminiſtration of M. de Galvez that Mexico has yielded a ſurplus by the eſtabliſhment of the farm of tobacco.

All the duties and contributions, of which I have given a ſummary account, produced in 1776, no more than one hundred and ten millions of livres (upwards of four millions and a half ſterling) and not even that ſum the following years; and it is ſaid, the national expence conſtantly exceeds the receipt. The miniſter is endeavouring to find the moſt ſure and leaſt burthenſome means of ſupplying the deficiency, and of creating a ſinking fund for the debts of Spain.

For although the debt of this kingdom be not ſo great as thoſe of France or England, it yet amounts to a very conſiderable ſum.

In

In the firſt place, the ſovereigns of the Bourbon family inherited from thoſe of the houſe of Auſtria, the debts called *Juros*, which, however, bear but a moderate intereſt. This is a charge to the ſtate of about five millions of livres (208000 l.) the payment of which is made from different branches of the revenue.

Philip V. left, as we have obſerved, debts to the amount of forty-five millions of piaſtres, or upwards of a hundred and ſixty millions of livres Tournois (above ſix million and a half ſterling).

At his death, Ferdinand VI. his ſon and ſucceſſor, an equitable and a pious prince, terrified at ſo enormous a burden, and heſitating between the fear of making the ſtate ſupport it, and the ſcruple of depriving the creditors of their right, aſſembled a junto, compoſed of biſhops, miniſters and lawyers, and propoſed to them the following queſtion; *Is a king obliged to diſcharge the debts of his predeceſſor?* Will it be believed, that it

was

was decided in the negative, under the pretence that the ſtate was a patrimony of which the ſovereign had but the temporary uſe, and that he was anſwerable for no engagements but his own. This deciſion, equally contrary to reaſon, juſtice and policy, quieted the conſcience of the monarch, and legalized in his eyes that which was a real bankruptcy. The payments of the debts of Spain were entirely ſuſpended.

Ferdinand VI. carried his inconſiderate œconomy ſtill further. His determination had given a mortal blow to the credit of the nation. Wholly employed in making ſavings, he ſuffered every branch of adminiſtration to languiſh; the army, fortreſſes and colonies were neglected. When Charles III. aſcended the throne in 1759, he found in the royal coffers upwards of a hundred and ſixty-five millions of livres tournois. The new ſovereign, more delicate in his ſcruples than his predeceſſor, thought it incumbent on him to repair the fatal omiſſion of Ferdinand VI.

In 1761, he paid ſix per cent. of the capital due from Philip V. but beginning with his own ſubjects, who were creditors, he put off foreigners until all the Spaniſh debts ſhould be diſcharged. This was treating his ſubjects as a good father of a family would his children; but it was, perhaps, at the ſame time deſtroying all the ſources of foreign credit in future. In modern times, when war coſts more money than men, when great enterprizes frequently require prodigious ſums, what ſtate can ſupply its own wants? Spain continued for five years to pay ſix per cent. in diminution of her capital debt.

In 1767, the dividend was reduced to four per cent. The following year fifteen millions of livres were diſtributed among the home creditors; and in 1769, the expences of the ſtate were ſo increaſed as to neceſſitate a ſuſpenſion of further dividends; an interruption which gave the finiſhing ſtroke to the credit of government. Whilſt I was in Spain, people were glad to ſell their claims

claims at a loſs of eighty per cent. However, there are ſome opportunities of diſpoſing of them to greater advantage. Foreigners or ſubjects, treating with government upon any enterprize it meaned to favour, have paſſed a certain portion of them at par. They are, moreover, received in payment of the *medias annatas*; but, except in theſe particular caſes, the claims upon Philip V. are almoſt of no value; they bear no intereſt, and the entire liquidation of them, if ever it ſhould take place, can only be conſidered as very diſtant. This is a truth, of which thoſe of my countrymen who have or may have any concern with them, cannot be too much convinced. During my abode in Spain, I had ſufficient proof of this by ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, and was witneſs to the unfavourable iſſue of thoſe made by others. A circumſtance related to me by perſons worthy of credit will be ſufficient to prove what I have aſſerted. One of the valets de chambre of Louis XV. was a holder of one of theſe ſecu-

rities, and imagined he might profit by the favour ſhewn him by the king to obtain an exception. Louis XV. wrote with his own hands to Charles III. requeſting he would grant it; but the Spaniſh monarch anſwered the king his couſin, whom he had always profeſſed to love with particular tenderneſs, that he was obliged to refuſe his requeſt, leaſt he ſhould give an example which might produce too many ſimilar demands and importunities.

It is not that the Spaniſh government does not perceive the moral and political inconvenience of thus depriving the poſſeſſors of theſe claims of their right, or that it totally rejects the idea of one day ſatisfying their demands. But the neceſſities of the ſtate, conſiderably increaſed by the enormous expences of the late war, have not hitherto permitted it to adopt proper meaſures. In 1783, government endeavoured with this view to open a loan of a hundred and eighty millions of reals, or about five millions

of

of livres (about two hundred thouſand pounds). One of the conditions of which loan was; that the claims upon Philip V. ſhould be received to the amount of a third of the ſubſcription. This, however, did not raiſe the value of the claims ſo much as was expected; the credit of ſtates reſembles the human body, an inſtant may deſtroy either, but much time is required to give them ſtrength and maturity. The loan which was ſuppoſed to be offered upon advantageous terms, tempted but very few perſons to ſubſcribe. At the beginning of the year 1785, it had ſcarcely produced three millions of livres; and it was ſoon afterwards cloſed. Foreigners who would have been glad to make advantage of their claims, were deterred by the conſideration that they muſt riſk a capital double the ſum of that they wiſhed to recover. The loan, in fact, recalled to their memory the loſs they had already ſuſtained. Few were willing to expoſe themſelves to the ſame hazard again, notwithſtanding the difference of

times, and the reaſons which might now be adduced for their better ſecurity.

The Spaniſh nation itſelf is, in general, ſuſpicious, and does not reſemble thoſe which the ſpirit of ſtock-jobbing keeps in a continual fermentation. It prefers a moderate gain to the hazardous ſpeculations ſo eagerly adopted in ſome other countries; and is more than any other nation attached to its ancient habits and cuſtoms. For a long time paſt, far from being tempted by foreign ſpeculations, it had confined its confidence to the company of merchants at Madrid, known by the name of *Gremios*, of which we have already had occaſion to ſpeak. The treaſure of the Gremios is a kind of public bank, in which individuals may place their money at the moderate intereſt of two and a half and three per cent.

The foundation of the confidence it inſpires, is the conſtant ſupport which government has given the Gremios, and the

the regularity with which they have always paid the intereſt of the capital in their hands; and although they may have hazarded ſpeculations beyond their ability, and government is continually in advance to them, nothing hitherto has ſhaken their credit. They hold, as we have obſerved, the farm of the entering duties at Madrid, and that of the *eſcuſado*: they are concerned in the principal manufactories in the kingdom, and formerly had the victualling the army by commiſſion. The government, which has frequently had recourſe to them in caſes of neceſſity, has long conſidered their bank as the chief pillar of the ſtate.

Adminiſtration, however, has lately perceived that it could do without them. Neceſſity even made this a law.

At the beginning of the late war, the ſtate, already fatigued by the efforts it had made in the expedition to South America, no longer having at hand the

extraordinary reſources required for the maintenance of its forces by ſea and land in both the hemiſpheres; and deprived of the periodical treaſures brought from Spaniſh America, to enliven the commerce and induſtry of Europe, which it was unwilling to expoſe to be ſeized by the Engliſh privateers that already infeſted all the ſeas, thought it neceſſary to make uſe of a reſource, until then unthought of in Spain, to ſupport the expenſive war it was about to undertake. Government made application to ſome French merchants eſtabliſhed at Madrid, negociated by their means a loan of nine millions of ſingle piaſtres (about thirty-four millions of livres), and iſſued paper to the amount of the ſame ſum.

This was divided into ſixteen thouſand five hundred bills of ſix hundred piaſtres each, at an intereſt of four per cent. Thoſe who with imaginary infallibility decide peremptorily on the operations of government, blamed the court of Madrid, becauſe it had not taken the method,

thod, ſimple in their opinion, of ſupporting the value of its paper, by eſtabliſhing a bank, to which the holders of the bills ſhould have gone and diſcounted them at par. They did not conſider that for this a depoſit of money was neceſſary, and that the creation of paper was a proof government had none; that the eſtabliſhing of a diſcounting bank would have been uſeleſs had the paper been approved: that it would have been ſhutting up at a loſs, funds of which the neceſſities of the ſtate required the immediate employment; that if, on the contrary, the bills inſpired no confidence, the diſcounting bank would have inſtantly been exhauſted, and that by thus letting ſlip through one hand what the other had received, the whole operation would have been illuſive.

The court was blamed, perhaps with more apparent reaſon, for having negociated the loan upon diſadvantageous terms, which betraying its embarraſſment

ment could not but diminiſh public confidence. In fact, the bankers who by their credit realized the loan, aſked ten per cent. commiſſion, and obtained it. But in ſuch negociations the lender calculates his riſks, and the borrower his neceſſities; hence ariſes the law which one impoſes and the other receives; and high demands on one ſide and facility of compliance on the other are equally excuſable.

However this may be, as ſoon as the negociation, of the motives and ſecurities of which the public were really or feignedly ignorant, was made known, the alarm became general as well in Spain as in foreign nations. All exclaimed againſt a meaſure which, ſaid they, the moſt extreme diſtreſs could ſcarcely excuſe; a meaſure ſometimes taken to diſcharge preſſing debts, but never to contract new ones. Foreign bankers, who had advanced their money, ſaid they were taken by ſurprize, and intimated deception; as if the Spaniſh government,

ment, whoſe probity and wiſdom is equally undeniable, could have conceived the raſh and fooliſh project of re-imburſing them in paper, or the ridiculous hope of giving this paper a value out of Spain. It loſt not a moment in removing their fears, and proving to them by real reimburſements, how little foundation there had been for alarm.

Nevertheleſs the bills circulated in Spain. At firſt the temptation of a greater intereſt than that commonly paid for ordinary ſubſcriptions was not ſufficient to give them credit. The law which obliged them to be taken in payment in all dealings as ready money, admitted them on the other hand into all the royal treaſuries at their real value: but law has no power over opinion. The bills were a long time received with repugnance. Every perſon took as few of them as poſſible, and was careful not to miſs the firſt opportunity of paſſing them again. In ſeveral places ignorance, and in ſome malignity, contributed to diſcredit

credit them. Sometimes they were paſſed at a loſs of twenty per cent. This critical ſituation of government was a new triumph for the *grenios*. The credit they enjoyed was increaſed by the diffidence with which the bills were received. Their bank ſeemed an aſylum to which people reſorted to lodge in ſecurity the money they thought expoſed to danger in the hands of government. The Spaniſh miniſtry braved the ſtorm with that ſerenity which a meaſure innocent in itſelf, but oppoſed by circumſtances, inſpires; and as ſtate neceſſities increaſed with the progreſs of the war, new bills to the amount of five millions of piaſtres were iſſued in the month of February, 1781; in ſhort, the following year others were iſſued to the amount of fourteen millions ſeven hundred and ninety-nine thouſand nine hundred piaſtres. The adminiſtration was therefore burthened with a debt of nearly a hundred and eight millions of livres, (four millions and a half ſterling) without reckoning other leſs oſtenſible obligations,

gations, which might make the whole debt about two hundred millions, (eight millions and one third ſterling.)

At the time the firſt bills were iſſued, the king of Spain engaged to withdraw a part of them annually from circulation. But monarchs, who are the moſt rigid obſervers of their promiſes, are ſometimes obliged to ſacrifice them to a law ſtill more imperious, that of ſtate neceſſity. Beſides a matter of greater urgency required the paternal attention of the Spaniſh Sovereign. At the beginning of the war, he had been obliged to overburthen his people by an augmentation of a tax on ſome of the principal neceſſaries of life, and which could not but fall ſtill more immediately upon the lower ranks. At the return of peace, one of his firſt cares was to alleviate this burthen. But five years are paſt, and the promiſed re-imburſement is not yet begun, though in the month of June, 1785, Spain withdrew bills to the amount of a million two hundred thouſand piaſtres; leaving

laving a debt of about a hundred and three millions of livres, which at four per cent. intereſt makes a diminution of almoſt four millions in her revenues.

A few weeks afterwards other paper was iſſued; but this muſt not be confounded with that which the war had made neceſſary. The laſt bills had no other object than the continuation of the canal of Arragon, of which I have ſpoken at the beginning of this work. They were circulated in Spain to the amount of twelve millions of livres (five hundred thouſand pounds) bearing the ſame intereſt as the royal bills. A part of this ſpecies of loan was to ſerve to reimburſe that of ſix millions of florins which the undertakers of the canal had made in Holland at three and a half per cent. A mortgage was given upon the profits of the canal which ſucceeds too well to leave the lenders the leaſt uneaſineſs about their ſubſcriptions; nor

nor can it be conſidered as a charge to the ſtate.

With reſpect to the real paper money, its ſtability has at length been ſufficiently evinced. The clamours it excited have ceaſed. Rational perſons, reſtored to the calm which was diſturbed by public outcry, perceive that nothing but ignorance could cauſe alarms, or be induced to compare the ſlight and tranſient diſquiet of the Spaniſh nation with the total confuſion produced in France by the ſyſtem of Law. In fact, the ſpecie of Spain exceeds, by almoſt three-fourths, the value of its paper, and at the fatal moment in 1720, when the French bank notes were in the greateſt credit, their amount was eighty times that of all the money which then circulated in the kingdom. It requires not much reflection to perceive all the impertinence of ſuch a compariſon. In Spain, all extraordinary wants ceaſed with the war. The adminiſtration was not ſuſpected of abuſing, by iſſuing new bills, the ſtill uncertain

certain credit of the nation, and thereby depriving itſelf of the ſuccours it might afford upon ſimilar occaſions. Theſe conſiderations by degrees brought the royal bills to par. When I left Spain (at the end of 1786) they were ſought after and advantageouſly negociated.

It is not leſs true that Spain finds in her paper a burthen which although not more than ſhe is really able to bear, her natural reſources being far from exhauſted, is but little proportioned to her preſent revenues, and this is an additional reaſon why adminiſtration ſhould ſeek the means of increaſing them. Several have already been propoſed. A few years ago government had it in agitation to appropriate to itſelf the immenſe property of the four military orders, which would produce much more in the hands of the ſovereign than it does under its preſent bad management, and beſides bringing an increaſe of revenue, would furniſh the means of replacing by penſions the commanderies annexed

annexed to theſe orders. But a project which ſeemed to deviate from the intention of the founders was repugnant to the conſcience and religion of the reigning monarch, ſo that others more compatible with his rigid adherence to juſtice muſt be deviſed. The moſt reaſonable one would undoubtedly have been that of a general tax upon all the lands in the kingdom, without excepting thoſe of the nobility and clergy. But this project, againſt which thoſe two powerful bodies would certainly raiſe ſo loud a clamour, and to which intrigue and the eſtabliſhed rights which immemorial poſſeſſion ſeems to give, muſt create inſuperable obſtacles, would be found as inconſiſtent with prudence and policy, as the other appeared irreconcileable to the ſcruples of religion; and Spain, will perhaps, be obliged to wait to receive from the ſlow reſources of oeconomy, the advantages ſhe might propoſe to herſelf from a ſudden but dangerous change.

However, far from being alarmed at the treatment her returning credit firſt met with, ſhe delayed not to make a ſecond attempt, which was to revenge the affront, give to her paper an advantageous circulation, awaken the Spaniards from their lethargy, draw from their cheſts the money there lying uſeleſs, both to themſelves and the ſtate, and throw it into circulation to the advantage of commerce and induſtry. Such were her great objects in eſtabliſhing in 1781, a national bank, which has ſcarcely any thing in common, except its name, with the banks of other ſtates of Europe.

The idea of it was given by a young French banker, M. Cabanus, eſtabliſhed at Madrid, who had begun to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of government at the time the firſt bills were iſſued. M. Cabanus has a vigorous and firm mind, united with talents which he had cultivated in ſecret until the time when he made them

them known. The favour of the miniſter would not have been ſufficient to enable him ſucceſsfully to ſtruggle againſt the numerous obſtacles he had to encounter. The manner in which he triumphed over them is a greater eulogium on him than any thing I can ſay in his praiſe, and has ſufficiently revenged him for all the ſlanders of his enemies. Embarked in a dangerous project, in which a thouſand prejudices concurred to prevent his ſucceeding, he has at once acquired an immenſe fortune and great honour. Without pretending to appreciate either the merit, utility, or ſtability of his operations, it muſt be allowed that nothing but partiality can attribute to chance alone ſuch brilliant and continued ſucceſs in deſpite of ſuch powerful oppoſition.

In 1781, after having profoundly conſidered the reſources of Spain, the cauſes by which they had been obſtructed, and the means of giving them activity, he

digeſted the plan of a national bank and preſented it to the miniſter.

His principal object was to employ a large ſum of money, either in the bank or placed at a very moderate intereſt. The firſt means he propoſed was to eſtabliſh a capital, which ſhould diſcount at four per cent. per annum, all bills of exchange drawn upon Madrid, as well from the other parts of Spain as from the reſt of Europe. This reſource was moderate; Madrid is not properly a commercial city. The wool Spain ſends abroad is the principal article paid for in that metropolis, and this alone would not have furniſhed a very advantageous employment for the capital of the new bank. An intereſt of two per cent. would not have been a ſufficient temptation. Who at this intereſt would have been inclined to diſplace his capital? It was therefore neceſſary to hold out more ſeducing advantages. The author

of

of the new plan turned his attention to that object.

He required that the profits of the *realgiro*, a particular ſpecies of bank, from which the court takes the money it has occaſion to ſend abroad, either for the payment of ambaſſadors, envoys, conſuls, &c. or for other purpoſes, ſhould be given to the national bank. The adminiſtrators of the *realgiro* have a commiſſion of four per cent. This was but a weak reſource for the public bank; the *realgiro* pays not more than two or three millions of livres annually.

But the chief ſource of profits which M. Cabanus propoſed to open to the national bank was the victualling and furniſhing of the navy and army. Contracts for the firſt had been given to different perſons. The ſecond was held by the *Gremios*, and the ſeveral leaſes and contracts with theſe and the government were upon the point of expiring.

The bank therefore might replace the former without giving reaſon for complaint.

Government was eaſily induced to favor a plan, which was to diſtribute among a great number of citizens profits until then confined to a few. The capital of the propoſed bank amounted to the ſum of three millions of reals, or about ſeventy-five millions of livres tournois (2125000l.) divided into one hundred and fifty thouſand ſhares of two thouſand reals each.

Thoſe who had property to purchaſe ſhares were not excluded from the profits they might produce, and theſe, according to the proſpectus, ſeemed to be very promiſing. Beſides the idle money to which an advantageous opening was about to be given, it was hoped that a great part of that in the hands of the Gremios at a moderate intereſt would naturally be removed from their coffers to thoſe of the national bank. The ſurplus of the grants from cities and communities

munities were alſo counted upon. Theſe were in the adminiſtration of the council of Caſtile, whence the national bank was to take them, and make ſuch uſe of them as ſhould be moſt advantageous to the perſons they concerned. In Spain there are magazines of grain in moſt of the cities, boroughs and villages *. Their ſurplus is converted into money. This alſo was an uſeleſs capital, which the bank might employ.

Hence it appears, that great advantages were promiſed to every claſs of citizens. It is not therefore aſtoniſhing that the miniſter adopted the project.

It was diſcuſſed in 1781, in an aſſembly compoſed of members from the chief branches of government. A very conſiderable majority was in favour of the project. An important queſtion was then debated. When the bank ſhould have a

* There are upwards of five thouſand of theſe in Spain.

contract for furniſhing the troops with proviſion, cloaths, &c. and the navy with proviſions, ſhip-timber, iron, cordage, and the like, would it be proper that government ſhould confide this to its management as a contract, or at a certain commiſſion? The authors of the plan voted for the firſt propoſition. In their opinion, the adminiſtration would in that caſe have the advantage of reckoning upon a fixed ſum for the expences of the army and navy; and it would be for the directors of the bank to render the contract advantageous to the parties concerned, without deceiving the intentions of government, which would always have the power of watching over their conduct. The miniſtry were of a different opinion; they aſſerted they had not yet documents ſufficient to enable them to eſtimate the expence of thus furniſhing the army and navy, and adopted the propoſition of allowing a certain commiſſion, with a clauſe to convert this into a farm or contract, when the experience of ſome years

years ſhould have proved that it would be advantageous to the finances of the king.

It was therefore determined that the national bank, or bank of St. Charles, ſhould be charged with victualling and cloathing the army, and furniſhing the navy with the articles above-mentioned, that it ſhould be allowed an intereſt of four per cent. on account of the advances to be made to government, and a commiſſion of ten per cent.

It was difficult to make a more advantageous bargain for future ſubſcribers, and it was expected that in a little time their number would be conſiderably increaſed. The king and royal family firſt gave the example; this was followed by ſeveral rich individuals, who, more from condeſcenſion than conviction, were eager to depoſit their capitals in the coffers of the bank. There were other monies of which the directors had previouſly aſſured themſelves. Such were the

the accumulations of the grants from cities, &c. the ſurplus of magazines of corn, and certain capitals which waiting for appropriation, were depoſited under the ſafeguard of public authority.

This was the firſt ſtate of the bank. The event anſwered not to the moſt probable conjectures. Moſt people were unmoved by a proſpect which ſeemed of a nature to tempt every one. But few withdrew their money from the bank of the Gremios; who were only obliged to raiſe the intereſt they paid to three and a half per cent. The new eſtabliſhment had ſome partizans, but theſe appeared ſuſpicious. Its antagoniſts, armed with the pretence of public good, forcibly declaimed againſt it; they kept up a miſtruſt which anterior events had prepared, and gained many over to their opinion.

The enemies to the new bank were, in the firſt place, all thoſe who without previous examination are equally ſo to

to every novelty; others whoſe calculations were deranged by it, and thoſe eſpecially who from jealouſy or natural prejudices looked with an evil eye upon a young foreigner, well received and ſupported by the miniſtry, and taking the advantage of a tranſient credit to overturn a nation which, ſaid they, might find amongſt its citizens men who underſtand its intereſts much better. The parallel already drawn between the creation of paper credit and the ſyſtem of the famous Law was then recollected.

The project in France was that of an ambitious ſtranger, who had given a mortal blow to the credit of the kingdom, by endeavouring to render it flouriſhing. In Spain it was that of a ſtranger alſo, who pretended to animate public credit and commerce, and aſpired to ſeduce the nation, by tempting it with a chimerical profit. Each had given the idea of a bank; therefore the reſemblance was perfect. Thus the greater part of men judge, deceived by the moſt trifling

trifling ſimilarity between two objects. Sometimes from a mere conformity of names, they create reſemblances which have no reality, except in their own imaginations, but which are ſtupidly adopted by that great multitude who never judge but by hearſay. This was now the caſe in Spain.

The aſſertion which perſonal intereſt, or ſentiments ſtill more odious, had advanced, was adopted, propagated, and commented upon by credulity and ignorance. It was repeatedly ſaid that the bank of St. Charles had preſented to the public a plan of operation illuſive in its nature, or at leaſt totally incompatible with the true intereſts of the nation, and which inſtead of favouring the liberty of commerce, as had been artfully pretended, muſt be prejudicial to that, as well as to agriculture and induſtry, by ſwallowing up the money which might have been more uſefully employed in their encouragement, than in naturalizing, in Spain, an evil until then

then unknown; the claſs of uſeleſs annuitants who ſhould live in opulence and idleneſs on the labours of their fellow citizens: that it ſold to government, at an exorbitant price, its own agency for the conduct of an undertaking in which more able perſons, or at leaſt thoſe of more experience might have been employed upon more advantageous terms; and that after having held up to public hatred all excluſive privileges, it had ſolicited for itſelf the moſt odious of monopolies.

What furniſhed a pretext for the laſt accuſation, was a grant which the bank of St. Charles obtained ſoon after its eſtabliſhment, for the excluſive exportation of piaſtres. This Spaniſh money is employed in a great meaſure to pay the balance of accounts due from Spain to the other nations of Europe. About thirty millions of them are annually ſtruck in Spaniſh America,. Part of theſe remain in the country; ſome are carried out of it in the ſmuggling trade;

trade; two or three millions are ſhipped on board the *Nao* or Galleon from Acapulco; and the reſt come to Europe, to pay for merchandize ſent thence to America. During a long time the mother country had not ſhipped commodities to her colonies to the amount of even ten millions of piaſtres, and the balance then owing to foreigners was calculated at fifteen millions.

It was abſolutely neceſſary to pay this balance on account of the neceſſity of diſcharging debts to preſerve credit. In leſs enlightened times the Spaniſh miniſtry had conceived the idea of turning the unavoidable exportation of piaſtres to advantage: to increaſe the revenue of the ſtate, ſuch exportation was ſubjected to a duty of three per cent. which, in 1768, was augmented to four per cent. and although the miniſters are now convinced that it is only an additional tax on their own traders, to whom foreigners ſell their goods four per cent. dearer, the ſtate of Spaniſh finances, and,

and, perhaps, the remains of an attachment to old prejudices, have not yet permitted them to take it off. The conſequence is, that the duty is ſufficiently high to give temptation to evade it: and even thoſe who are appointed to collect it, favour the clandeſtine conveyance of piaſtres out of the kingdom. The whole ſurplus quits the colonies, but the royal treaſure is deprived of a part of its revenues.

In this ſtate of affairs, the bank wiſhed for the excluſive privilege of exporting all the piaſtres neceſſary to diſcharge the balance due from Spain, and repreſented, that ſhould this be granted, two advantages would reſult from it to the ſtate; that of preventing the value of money from being increaſed, which muſt be the neceſſary conſequence of multiplied negociations; and that of diminiſhing the fraudulent exportation of piaſtres, by an extraordinary diligence, which could not be expected from the agents of government. The governors of

of the bank wiſhed at the ſame time the duty of four per cent. to be taken off, or at leaſt reduced to the half: but government refuſed either to annul or diminiſh the duty. Except in this particular the propoſitions of the bank were perfectly well received.

It was therefore ordered, that in future the bank ſhould poſſeſs the excluſive right of exporting piaſtres; that to prevent them from being fraudulently withdrawn out of the country, they ſhould all paſs by the way of Bayonne, except in a few particular caſes, in which government ſhould reſerve to itſelf a conveyance through other channels; and alſo that thoſe who ſhould have money to ſend into foreign countries, ſhould be obliged to take bills for it from the bank.

This grant, which had the form of an excluſive privilege, excited new clamours. It naturally irritated thoſe, who until then had ſpeculated in ſmuggling the ſpecie

ſpecie out of the kingdom, others who had been employed to export it legally, and merchants, who, in conſequence of the new regulations, were in future to be ſubject to the laws of the bank, by being obliged to make all their foreign payments in its paper, and to receive it at the exchange the bank ſhould be pleaſed to iſſue it at. But all uniting in complaints which had different motives, alledged that the proſperity of commerce would be endangered, its liberty eſſentially injured by the ſhackles of monopoly, and that private intereſt was concealed under the veil of public good.

Miniſtry were deaf to all theſe ſuſpicions and objections, and the bank was put in poſſeſſion of its privilege in the month of November 1783. The firſt uſe made of it proved very advantageous to the ſubſcribers. The war, as we have obſerved, had retarded the arrival of the treaſures from America, and the return of peace brought with it a prodigious quantity of piaſtres. The bank, which

had taken the ſtricteſt precautions to prevent their being fraudulently conveyed out of the kingdom, exported upwards of twenty millions in 1784.

The year following the ſums exported amounted to nearly twenty-two millions, and as Europe impatiently waited the arrival of theſe periodical ſuccours, the bank could not but ſell to advantage a merchandize which is the price of thoſe which Europe furniſhes to Spaniſh America, which the latter country only produces, and which ſo many were anxious to poſſeſs, ſo that all concerned ſeemed to gain by the change. The bank, to which the moſt advantageous preceding years had not produced ſix millions and a half of reals for the duty of four per cent. upon the exportation of piaſtres, received from it in 1784 upwards of fifteen millions, and from ſixteen to ſeventeen millions in 1785, and this one article produced a profit of twelve millions of reals to be divided among the ſubſcribers.

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In the mean time the expiration of the contracts with government for the victualling of the army and navy had put the bank in poſſeſſion of theſe principal ſources of its revenue. Its dividends were therefore increaſed. That of 1784, the firſt it made, was nine and a half, alſo a profit of forty-ſeven livres ten ſols (3s. 7d.) upon each ſhare which had been bought at its primitive value of five hundred livres (21l. 16s.) or two thouſand reals. The triumph of the bank was then complete, and its enemies, at leaſt thoſe in Spain, ſuffered their ſpleen to evaporate in ſilence. As men in all countries ever paſs from one extreme to another, invective was ſoon changed into enthuſiaſtic panegyric.

The bank took advantage of this revolution, to increaſe, at different times, the ſhares which it had yet to diſpoſe of *, and thus to enable itſelf to increaſe

* They were firſt raiſed fifteen per cent. upon their primitive value of two thouſands reals, and

creaſe future dividends. The fermentation reached ſuch foreign kingdoms as were then habitually addicted to ſtock-jobbing. In a little time the ſhares of the bank roſe in France, Geneva and other places to eight thouſand reals, or two thouſand livres; and the Spaniards having leſs faith or more foreſight than foreigners, were not wanting to encourage and gratify this inconſiderate ardor.

It was, however, but momentary, although it laſted long enough to produce pernicious revolutions in ſeveral fortunes. It were to be wiſhed it had never exiſted. Some perſons, influenced by a patriotic zeal, took upon them to abate its violence. In France, a wri-

ſix thouſand two hundred and eight were ſold at two thouſand three hundred reals. Soon afterwards the eagerneſs of foreigners increaſed them to two thouſand five hundred reals, or ſix hundred and twenty-five livres, and upwards of fifteen thouſand ſhares were ſold at this price. Theſe two augmentations produced to the ſubſcribers a profit of twenty-two millions of reals.

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ter, known by his eloquence, but ſtill more ſo by a ſtrength of mind which induces him to ſpeak, without reſerve, ſuch truths as he believes uſeful, undertook to inſtruct his countrymen.

The motive was laudable, but not ſo the execution of the work. With the energy natural to him, this author repeated and commented upon all the detractors of the bank had ſaid, at the time of its eſtabliſhment, not forgetting the abuſe that had been thrown on him by whom the plan had been projected. He aſſerted that the bank of St. Charles could not under any point of view be conſidered as proper for Spain; and that it had departed from the ſimple and uſeful operations to which its founder had declared it was to be confined: that it muſt ſooner or later loſe the favour of government; that it became more and more odious to the commercial world by the monopoly it exerciſed; and that the ſubſcribers could have no real con-

fidence either in its duration or ſtability.

In imitation of its firſt enemies, he compared it to the ſyſtem of Law; and maintained that the founder had even taken that ſyſtem for his model.

Hence he concluded, that great commercial nations had reaſon to fear leaſt their ſubjects, who had great capitals, ſhould embark too much of their property in the bank of St. Charles, becauſe they had need of all their aid to lighten the burden of their own debts; that they were not in a ſituation to lend great ſums to foreigners, eſpecially when it appeared that the loan muſt be perpetual; and finally, that individuals who expoſed their fortunes in ſo hazardous an enterprize, acted like bad citizens as members of ſociety, and like madmen as fathers of families.

The court of Madrid, leaving time and reaſon to contradict theſe aſſertions, which

which tended greatly to diminiſh the public confidence in an inſtitution to which it had given its ſanction, took the founder's part, and the council of Caſtile in June 1785, paſſed a decree which proſcribed the publication, and thereby proved that the period announced by its author was yet at a diſtance.

But this proſcription prevented not the work from having its effect. The enthuſiaſm of French ſtock-jobbers was abated, and ſince that time has not recovered its former ardour. It is not the intereſt even of the bank that it ſhould again return. Such a wiſh can be formed only by greedy ſpeculators, who hope to profit by momentary convulſions, to enrich themſelves at the expence of the credulous. A great part of the ſhares of the bank firſt ſold in foreign countries have returned to Spain. The bank itſelf took advantage of their reduced price, which fell to two thouſand two hundred and forty reals, or five hun-

dred and ſixty livres, to buy in about twenty-five thouſand, which it propoſes to keep, the deduction of which will increaſe the future dividends in the ſame ſum for the reſt of the co-proprietors.

Its laſt meeting (that at the beginning of the preſent year, when the accounts of 1787 were given in) was tumultuous. A cabal was raiſed againſt the directors of the inſtitution, which even accuſed them of a want of probity. The oppoſition pretended that ſome of the directors, who at the ſame time are principals of commercial houſes, had abuſed the public confidence in their management of the diſcounting buſineſs, by favouring their own affairs. A committee was appointed to examine their conduct, as well as all the accounts of the bank from its eſtabliſhment, and to reform abuſes.

The accuſed, free from reproaches of conſcience, wait without fear the reſult of the examination. But M. Cabanus, whom

whom ſucceſs has rendered impatient, is not yet familiarized to the aſſaults of intrigue, and has given in his reſignation, offering at the ſame time to aid the directors with his advice as a ſimple individual. The meeting exclaimed againſt this haſty reſolution. It even addreſſed the king, praying his majeſty to pay no attention to it. The monarch is ſlow in pronouncing; but whatever may be his deciſion, M. Cabanus may be certain of preſerving a preponderance in an eſtabliſhment founded by himſelf, and of which, in ſpite of envy, he is become the principal ſpring. He may recollect for his conſolation *(ſi magna licet componere parvis)* that Auguſtus dated the firm eſtabliſhment of his authority from the day he ſeemed willing to abdicate the empire.

The part the bank has taken in the operations of the new Philippine company, is another circumſtance which muſt have an influence upon the produce of its ſhares. M. Cabanus induced it,

it, in 1785, to add to the funds of the company the ſum of twenty-one millions of reals, deducted from the dividend of 1784: this gave to each ſhare an intereſt of one hundred and forty reals, or thirty-five livres, in the property of the Philippine company. Whatever may be the iſſue of this new inſtitution, the aſſociation cannot be prejudicial to the bank, and may be of conſiderable advantage to it; and if the advantage be ever ſo little apparent, it is ſtrongly to be preſumed the value of the ſhares will be increaſed. On the other hand, ſhould the contrary be the event, they will experience no ſenſible diminution. The bank having riſked but little, can be expoſed but to a moderate loſs; which moreover will not fall upon the capital. In May 1785, the bank made a propoſal, the admiſſion of which will furniſh a new employment to its funds. This was to undertake the completion of the canal, which, as we have before obſerved, is to begin at the foot of the mountains of Guadarrama, and terminate

minate at the Guadalquivir, after croſſing the center of Spain. It has offered to make the neceſſary advances for this great undertaking upon the ſame conditions on which it received the contract for victualling and cloathing the troops; the propoſal was accepted by government, who immediately ſent M. le Maur to take the levels in various places through which the future canal is to paſs. The unexpected death of that able engineer did not ſuſpend the work he had begun; and this will furniſh the bank with another means of augmenting its profits, and rendering itſelf advantageous to Spain witout endangering the funds.

In every caſe, I think, with impartial judges who have nothing to gain or loſe by the credit which may be given to a contrary opinion, that the placing of money in the bank of St. Charles is advantageous, and muſt appear ſafe. Not that the great dividends with which it has begun ought always to be expected; the ſources whence they were drawn,

drawn, are either exhauſted or diminiſhed. It has no more profits to make upon the ſale of ſhares; theſe were all diſpoſed of at the end of the year 1785, except one thouſand one hundred and ſix to which an appropriation has previouſly been aſſigned. The exportation of piaſtres will not in future be ſo advantageous as it was immediately after the peace. But ſo long as the bank preſerves that excluſive privilege, and government ſhall confide to it the victualling and other ſupplies for the army and navy, the principal ſource of its profits *, the ſub-

* It is true, that in 1787, the victualling, &c. which until then had been performed at a commiſſion of ten per cent. has been converted into a contract; but at the price which government has agreed to give the bank, it is proved that the gain will be as conſiderable as formerly. However the firſt effect of the change was diſadvantageous to the bank. Government gave it a retro-active effect; and as the bank had until then made its dividends according to its right of commiſſion of ten per cent. it was obliged to diminiſh in proportion its laſt dividend, to render back that with which it had too much augmented the firſt. Wiſhing immediately to effect this

ſubſcribers, thoſe at leaſt who bought their ſhares at the primitive value, of two thouſand reals, or five hundred livres, may reckon upon an intereſt of from five to ſix per cent.

The Spaniſh government is far from that verſatility which might cauſe it to abandon an inſtitution, the plan of which it had brought to maturity, and which has ſome inconteſtible advantages, both

this re-imburſement, it reduced the dividend of 1787, from ſix and a half per cent. to five and a quarter. This debt once acquitted the dividends, will be made as uſual. Several circumſtances will concur in increaſing them afterwards. Hitherto their diſtribution has always been the date and occaſion of an act of beneficence. The bank, this year, appropriated the ſurplus of five per cent. to ſuccour the unfortunate who had ſuffered ſome months before from the inundations in Navarre. Such an uſe of what it conſiders as a ſurplus, is ſufficient to excuſe its profits, and recommend it ſtill more to the nation; in fact, the firſt prejudices of the people againſt it begin to be diſſipated, and communities accuſtom themſelves to ſee their funds, formerly unemployed, directed by the bank to an uſeful activity.

for

for itſelf and a great part of its ſubjects. But let us ſuppoſe the worſt to happen, that yielding to the repreſentations of commercial people, and renouncing the ſurplus of the profit which the treaſury receives from the exportation of piaſtres ſince it is confined to one company, it ſhould determine to leave the exportation free as it was before: let us ſuppoſe alſo, that for the love of public good, it ſhould accept the offers made to furniſh the army and navy upon better terms than thoſe of the bank; what would be the reſult? The bank reduced to the ſlender profits of diſcount, and the *realgiro*, would indeed be obliged to ceaſe its operations; but as according to its conſtitution it cannot change the courſe of its funds; as the ſum which it has placed in the hands of the Philippine company was not taken from the bank capital, but from its profits, there is every reaſon to preſume that the capital would remain untouched and be employed to re-imburſe all the proprietors of ſhares. Therefore theſe are only

only expoſed to one riſk, that of government's ſeizing the capital in a moment of diſtreſs. But were this apprehenſion well-founded, there would be nothing ſacred on earth; policy in defect of virtue muſt ſerve the proprietors as a ſafeguard; and it is not from the Spaniſh government that they ought to fear a meaſure which would be equally treacherous and imprudent, eſpecially at a time when it is ſeriouſly engaged in repairing the wounds given to its credit in preceding reigns, and in taking advantage of it to ſecond the general inclination of the kingdom to engage in uſeful enterprizes.

It will here be proper to ſpeak of its capital in money, not as a banker, that is not in my power, but as a traveller, who wiſhes to give ſome idea to his readers of every thing relative to a country in which he has reſided for a conſiderable time.

It

It ſeems, at firſt ſight, that it muſt be eaſy to know what money circulates in Spain. She poſſeſſes all the metals which ſhe uſes in her mint. Theſe, when converted into coin, cannot be brought from America without paying a duty. On entering Spain the money pays another, and a third is required upon ſending it thence to a foreign kingdom. It ſhould therefore ſeem, that the cuſtom-houſe books would give a clear idea of the coin in Spain. But a great part of the money ſtruck in the Indies paſſes clandeſtinely from America to Europe; foreign merchants alſo fraudulently receive a part of the value of the merchandize they have ſent, although the whole be found on board Spaniſh veſſels returning from America; and as frequent reviſions of coin are neglected to be made, there are not data ſufficient to arrive at certainty with reſpect to the quantity of money which uſually circulates in the kingdom. It is therefore from looſe calculation only, and upon the evidence of ſome well-informed merchants,

chants, that I have eſtimated it at eighty millions of double piaſtres, about four hundred millions of livres Tournois (above ſixteen millions and a half ſterling). It will, perhaps, be thought extraordinary that Spain, which is in poſſeſſion of moſt of the gold and ſilver mines in the world, and annually coins thirty millions of piaſtres, ſhould be reduced to ſo moderate a ſum of circulating money, eſpecially when it is recollected that in the reign of Charles V. it contained almoſt all the gold and ſilver in Europe; and, what is ſtill more valuable, poſſeſſed in the productions of its ſoil and induſtry, the means of ſubſiſting without the aid of any other nation.

In leſs than a century that kingdom has fallen from this ſtate of ſplendor. To what is ſo rapid and total a revolution to be attributed? To the abundance of the precious metals which have increaſed the price of commodities, and the wages of workmen; to

the decline of manufactures, which was the conſequence; to the depopulation, cauſed by the numerous emigrations to America; the great deſtruction of men, occaſioned by long wars at a diſtance from the frontiers; and the expulſion of the Moors and Jews. It may alſo be more particularly attributed to the ruinous wars undertaken by Philip II. againſt the Low Countries, and which from the year 1567, to the truce in 1612, coſt upwards of two hundred millions of piaſtres. But every thing announces that Spain is about to riſe from her aſhes, and will ſoon be induſtriouſly employed in cultivating her ſoil, and animating her manufactures. Weary of purſuing a paſſive commerce, ſhe will ſoon ceaſe to leſſen her current coin, by paying foreign induſtry, and ſending every year the greateſt part of her money to exchange the image of her monarch for that of foreign ſovereigns.

The firſt coin, as well gold as ſilver, which was ſtruck in Spaniſh America, was

was irregular in its ſhape as much as in its impreſſion, which on one ſide was a croſs, and on the other the arms of Spain. Some of it is ſtill in circulation, but it is not received for its nominal value until it be weighed to ſee that it has loſt nothing of its intrinſic worth.

The impreſſion varied until the year 1772, when a new coinage took place, in which the head of the ſovereign was ſtruck on one ſide, and on the other the arms of Spain round an eſcutcheon.

The pieces of gold are the *doblon de a ocho*, called in France *quadruple*, *once d'or*, or *medaille*, which when exchange is at par is worth eighty livres French (3l. 6s. 8d.)

The half *doblon de a ocho*, value forty livres.

The doblon of gold, worth half the preceding piece.

The half doblon of gold.

The little gold crown or *durito*, which in 1779 was the value of half the demi-doblon, but at preſent is worth one twentieth more, and conſequently about five livres five ſols (4s. 4½d.)

The ſilver coin conſiſts of the great piaſtre, worth about twenty reals, a quarter of the doblon of gold, that is a hundred ſols, (4s. 2d.) when exchange is at par.

The half piaſtre worth about five reals.

The *pezeta colunaria* or little piece of five reals, which is coined in America only, and bears on one ſide two pillars and on the other two globes crowned.

The common *pezeta* of four reals worth about twenty ſols (10d).

The

The half *pezeta* of two reals and a half.

The common half *pezeta*, which is alſo called *real de plata* worth about two reals of vellon.

The quarter *pezeta*, coined alſo in the Indies, excluſively.

The *realito* or real of vellon, worth about five ſols (2½d.) *

The copper coins are, the *doble quarto*, four of which make a real. The double *quarto* is worth about one ſol three deniers (1½d.)

The *quarto*, which is half the preceding piece.

The *ochavo*, half of the *quarto*.

* All theſe little pieces are diminutions of the piaſtre.

The *maravedi*, which is the ſmalleſt money that exiſts. Thirty-four maravedis make a real. Few of them are found even in Spain, and I imagine none have lately been coined.

No gold coin is ſtruck in America. The ſilver coin from the mints there bears for its diſtinguiſhing marks, on one ſide the two pillars, and on the other the head of the ſovereign crowned with a wreath of laurel.

There are mints at Peru, Santa Fé and Mexico. The greater number of the piaſtres which come to Europe are coined in the latter. There are but three mints in Spain, thoſe of Madrid, Seville and Segovia: the latter coins copper money only. Beſides theſe, there are as in France and England ideal monies, or monies of exchange, which are,

The *ſimple piſtole* or the *doblon* worth about four ſimple piaſtres or fifteen livres (12s. 6d.) exchange at par. It is accord-

according to this ideal money that exchange is regulated between France and Spain. When it is againſt France, the piſtole is not worth fifteen livres; but it exceeds that price when exchange is favourable.

The ſimple piaſtre or *peſo*, which is called *peſo ſencillo* to diſtinguiſh it from the *peſo fuerte*, great piaſtre, is worth 15 reals or about 3 livres 15 ſols (3s. 1½d.)

The ducat, worth eleven reals. This is the money in which the ſalaries of places under government are paid. It is almoſt out of uſe without the frontiers of Spain.

I ſhall not mention other kinds of ideal money, which are not known except in the provinces.

For three centuries paſt the court of Spain has been careful not to change the ſtandard of its money. It was no doubt aware that infidelities or even

variations of this kind muſt create uncertainty and diſtruſt in the operations of commerce, which draws from the Spaniſh poſſeſſions the greateſt part of the money neceſſary to ſettle its balances.

Nevertheleſs in 1737, the court of Madrid having obſerved that the great piaſtre had only a value proportioned to the difference which then exiſted between the gold and ſilver coin increaſed it to twenty reals; the equilibrium intended to be eſtabliſhed between theſe two metals being again deſtroyed, the value of gold was no longer in proportion to its abundance. There was too great an advantage in exporting it in preference to ſilver. If Spain had not applied a remedy ſhe would in the end have been wholly deprived of that metal.

Government therefore thought proper in 1779 to add a ſixteenth to the imaginary value of the gold coin, without changing

changing the weight or ſtandard. By this operation, the *quadruple* or *doblon de a ocho*, which before was worth but fifteen great piaſtres was increaſed to ſixteen, and all the other gold pieces in proportion. Nations which poſſeſs precious metals give laws to others, with reſpect to the ſtandard of their money, and thoſe who do not follow them muſt ſooner or later be the victims of their obſtinacy. This juſt obſervation conſtantly confirmed by experience has recently determined our miniſtry to increaſe the value of gold.

There is in Spain a ſovereign court which regulates and decides affairs relative to the coin, under the title of *real junta de commercio, moneda, minas*, &c. becauſe its juriſdiction extends to whatever relates to commerce, the mines, and ſome other objects.

According to the new form given it in 1705, it ſhould be compoſed of three counſellors of Caſtile, five of the Indies,

dies, two of finances, one of the tribunal *de la Contratacion*, and two intendants from France. But as in practice things are different from what they ought to be, the *Junta de Commercio*, has but one member of the council of Caſtile, and two of that of the Indies. All the others are members of the council of finance.

This court or junto is as independent in other reſpects as the other ſovereign councils of the monarchy.

The council of war is more a tribunal than a permament board of military adminiſtration; the king, indeed, commonly conſults it relative to the regulations of his troops. Until the reign of Philip V. this council appointed to the ſuperior military offices. Every diſpoſition which uſeleſsly renders complex the ſprings of government, which furniſhes matter for intrigue, without affording a ſupport to liberty, ought to be rejected by true political wiſdom. Under

der the preſent family, the throne inherited the prerogative of conferring military rank from the council of war. The king names to all military employments, upon the preſentation of the inſpector, of whom, as I have before obſerved the miniſter at war is no more than the interpreter. The inſpectors elude on many occaſions the interpoſition of the council of war; but for the ſake of form, military meaſures taken without its concurrence, receive its ſanction.

The chief functions of the council of war are to adminiſter juſtice to thoſe, who in a civil or military capacity, bring their cauſes before that tribunal. It is divided into two chambers, or *ſalas*, the *ſala de Govierno* and the *ſala de Juſticia*. The former is eſpecially employed in matters of adminiſtration. It is for the moſt part compoſed of military men, and has for counſellors the moſt ancient captains of the body guards, and

the

the oldeſt of the two colonels of the guards.

The *ſala de Juſticia* is confined to litigations, but judges not finally. If the parties are diſſatisfied with its deciſion, they may require the other chamber to be joined to it to examine the cauſe anew.

All the cauſes of ſtrangers are carried by appeal to the council of war; and foreign nations who have intercourſe and connexions with Spain derive great advantages from this tribunal, the equity of which is rarely prevented by national prejudices.

The higheſt military rank in Spain is that of *captain general*; which is equal to that of marſhal of France, and not incompatible with it; ſince theſe honours were united in the perſon of marſhal Berwick. This preferment is not eaſily obtained in Spain; it is confined at preſent to two perſons in the army, the

count

count de Aranda and the duke de Crillon.

Next to the captains general, rank, as in France, the lieutenants general *, field marſhals †, and brigadiers ‡ whoſe uniforms very much reſemble thoſe of the French general officers.

The Spaniſh infantry conſiſts of forty-four regiments of two battalions each, without including thoſe of the Spaniſh and Walloon guards, each containing four thouſand two hundred men in ſix battalions. Of theſe forty-four regiments thirty-five are Spaniſh, two Italian, three Flemiſh, and four Swiſs.

Theſe eighty-eight battalions, each of which ſhould contain ſix hundred and eighty-four men, would make the Spaniſh infantry amount to about ſixty

* Theſe are forty-ſeven in number at preſent.
† Of theſe there are ſixty-ſeven.
‡ Of theſe there are a hundred and fifty-ſix.

thouſand

thouſand men were they complete, but this is far from being the caſe; and I have frequently heard it aſſerted, though that perhaps is exaggeration, that Spain would find a difficulty to bring into the field thirty thouſand effective men, in Europe. It is however certain that her infantry is not ſufficient for her great extent of poſſeſſions, ſince garriſons muſt be maintained in Africa, and in ſeveral important places in her colonies, as at the Havanah, Porto-Rico, Buenos Ayres and Vera Cruz. At the end of the year 1776 Spain had thirty-two battalions out of Europe; and in 1782, thirty-ſix in America alone.

The means of recruiting are very confined. The Spaniſh nation, brave as it is, has for ſome time had a diſlike to the foot ſervice. Each regiment finds a difficulty in procuring men; the colours are raiſed in places in which it is ſuppoſed moſt dupes and libertines are aſſembled, and thus, as in France, the regiment is increaſed by the diſorders of ſociety;

ſociety; and by a happy metamorphoſis thoſe who diſturb its repoſe, are appointed to its defence. The ſoldiers of our regiments, impelled by their inconſtancy, to paſs the frontiers, take advantage of the neck of the pyrenees to go and engage themſelves to Spaniſh recruiters. Foreign regiments in the ſervice of Spain are recruited at the expence of ours in particular; and as the Spaniards are far from that unſatisfied reſtleſsneſs, which characteriſes their neighbours, and induces them to wander to every part of the globe; and as beſides, the French army is much more conſiderable than that of Spain, all the inconvenience of the proximity of the reſpective garriſons is on the ſide of the French, and the court of Madrid is by no means deſirous of concluding with that of Verſailles a cartel for reciprocally giving up deſerters: it was thought ſufficient in 1761, that each ſhould agree to reſtore the arms, horſes and baggage of the ſoldiers which ſhould paſs from one ſervice to the other.

Another

Another mode of recruiting the Spaniſh army is that of the *quintas*, a kind of drawing of militia, which however muſt be diſtinguiſhed from that of France, though they are there both in uſe, one for recruiting the regular troops, the other for the provincial regiments. The ordinance of 1705 enacts, that for the firſt, lots ſhall be drawn in each village to chuſe one perſon in five; but then the drawing of the militia ſhall be ſuſpended. This undoubtedly is the etymology of the word *quintas*. As it always happens, the thing is changed and the word remains. The *quintas* do not at preſent require ſo great a number; and as the people have on ſome recent occaſions ſhewn how odious it was to them, government has recourſe to this expedient only in the laſt extremity. To employ rigour without occaſion is not firmneſs but folly; and to avoid the exertion of authority except when a violent criſis requires extraordinary efforts is not weakneſs but prudence. The laſt time the levy of the *quintas* took place, was in 1775, when Spain

was

was preparing to make war againſt the Portugueſe in South America; ſhe had not recourſe to it in the laſt war, and the regiments employed at the ſieges of Minorca and Gibraltar, were completed at the expence of thoſe which were not in actual ſervice.

Beſides the forty-four regiments of regular infantry Spain has forty-two of militia * diſtributed in the provinces of the crown of Caſtile. They are more or leſs near to each other according to the population and extent of the province. The regiments are aſſembled only during one month in the year, in the principal place of which they bear the name; and then the officers and ſoldiers are paid; the ſame regulation is obſerved in time of war, when they replace the regular troops in garriſons. At all other times they are diſperſed in their vil-

* Beſides theſe there are ſeveral companies of burgeſs militia at Cadiz, Port St. Mary, Corogne and nine other places in Spain.

lages and follow their reſpective occupations. The regiments, which all conſiſt of one ſingle battalion of ſeven hundred and twenty men *, muſt always be complete. As ſoon as a ſoldier of the militia dies, deſerts, or is diſcharged, lots are drawn in the village whence he was taken, to replace him. The ordinances of 1703 and 1705, enact that the drawing of the militia ſhall take one perſon from a hundred; a rule which muſt have been departed from in practice. It cannot be ſuppoſed that ſuch a regulation has ever been obſerved; forty-two regiments of ſeven hundred and twenty men each would amount to upwards of thirty thouſand men. Theſe thirty thouſand multiplied by a hundred will give three millions of ſubjects fit to bear arms in the provinces of the crown of Caſtile; and it will be found difficult to reconcile this calculation with the real ſtate of population in thoſe provinces.

* Except that of Majorca which has two.

The

The regiments of militia have a particular inſpector. Their colonels are choſen from among the moſt diſtinguiſhed gentry of the diſtrict; and their authority is very extenſive over the men. They have the power of inflicting puniſhments, and there is no appeal from their ſentences, but to the king, through the medium of the council of war. Few ſtates in Europe have a better regulated body of militia. The grenadiers of theſe regiments are in time of war united to the regular troops. They enjoy among their fellow citizens a reputation which their whole conduct during the laſt war juſtly merited.

The Spaniſh ſoldiers in general have long been juſtly renowned throughout Europe, for their firm and perſevering courage, and the reſolution with which they ſupport labour, fatigue, and hunger. Thoſe of our countrymen who ſaw them at Minorca and before Gibraltar, can determine

whether or not they have degenerated.

I have, however, frequently heard the Spaniards ſay their troops were not ſo well commanded as they ought to be. I know not how far the cenſure is well founded. I have been honoured with the acquaintance of many Spaniſh officers of rank, as well as ſubalterns; and they generally appeared to me to be actuated by the true ſpirit of their profeſſion. Thoſe who derogate from it ſeem at leaſt to do themſelves juſtice by concealing the defect. It muſt however be allowed, that there is more merit in Spain in being what is called a good ſoldier than in France.

In the firſt place, although Spain has taken a part in all the wars of this century, it may ſtill be ſaid, that ſince thoſe of Italy terminated in 1748, her troops have made no real campaigns. The Spaniards themſelves dare not give this name

name to the ſhort war with Portugal, in which they encountered but few obſtacles and little danger. The expeditions to Algiers and Buenos Ayres were ſoon ended; they called into action only a part of the army, and afforded but few opportunities for the diſplay either of courage or of experience. What army in Europe would not have loſt its activity by a peace of thirty years almoſt without interruption? Add to this that the Spaniſh officers have not the ſame means of forming themſelves with the French. Moſt of their garriſons are ſolitary and ill provided, without reſource either for inſtruction or innocent pleaſures; the officers have not the privilege of the *ſémeſtres* * and but ſeldom obtain leave of abſence to regulate their private affairs. This is undoubtedly a means of making excellent officers of thoſe who are thus in a ſituation uninterruptedly to perform the duties of their

* Leave of abſence for ſix months every year, or every ſecond year, in France.

profeſſion. But theſe in all countries are but few in number; and in general this unvaried and inſipid life in the end abſorbs the faculties and deſtroys activity, or diverts the mind to improper objects. It has beſides the inconvenience of rendering the ſervice leſs deſirable, and keeping from it thoſe to whom a ſmaller fortune or a liberal education offers other reſources. The Spaniſh army has lately however undergone an advantageous revolution in this reſpect. The different ſchools of which I have ſpoken, furniſh it with perſons of diſtinguiſhed abilities. A martial ſpirit has been awakened in the nobility of the firſt diſtinction; who embrace the profeſſion of arms, which in them is a greater merit than in ours. What young French colonel would reſign himſelf to paſs three or four years at Briançon, Charlemont or Gravelines, remote from his family, his affairs, and what is ſtill more, from the pleaſures of the capital? Yet have I known more than one grandee of Spain willingly ſubmit to ſimilar ſacrifices.

All

All I have ſaid of the infantry is applicable to the other corps of the Spaniſh army. The cavalry conſiſts of fourteen regiments, not including the brigade of carbiniers, raiſed in 1730. There are eight of dragoons. Theſe two corps have each an inſpector. Each regiment of cavalry is compoſed of four ſquadrons, which ſhould contain a hundred and fifty men. Were the corps complete, Spain would have an army of thirteen thouſand two hundred horſe. I have been, however, aſſured, that in 1776, at the approach of a war, which ſoon after took place, there were but eight thouſand effective horſe. In time of peace, the ſix hundred men, of which each regiment ought to be compoſed, are reduced to four hundred and eighty, and of this number there are eighty men diſmounted.

This arrangement was produced by the œconomy of 1768. The reſult is, that the cavalry is leſs agreeable than it otherwiſe would be to the Spaniards, becauſe the new recruits remain three or

four years on foot, waiting for their turn to have ſpare horſes. Notwithſtanding theſe defects, the Spaniſh cavalry may be reckoned amongſt the fineſt in Europe.

The corps of carbiniers deſerves the attention of connoiſſeurs. It only requires to be a little better diſciplined to be equal to the beſt regiments of cavalry of other kingdoms. It is ſtationed in La Mancha, which it never leaves but from time to time to be reviewed by the king, when his majeſty is at Aranjuez. I was preſent at ſeveral of theſe reviews, and could not but admire the beauty, docility, and vivacity of the horſes. The carbiniers are beſides a choſen corps, inſpired with the true military ſpirit. But their reſidence in La Mancha, of which they are, if I may uſe the expreſſion, become citizens, benumbs their activity, and is not without its ill effects on the morals of the inhabitants.

The cavalry is not eaſily mounted in Spain as might be ſuppoſed, from the great

great celebrity of the Spaniſh horſes. It is generally ſaid the breed is degenerated, and it is certain that fine horſes are become more rare. This is attributed to the little care that has been taken to croſs the breed, and particularly to the too great number of ſtuds of mules bred from the fineſt mares in the kingdom. The indefatigable ardor of theſe animals has given them the preference to horſes both with the court and individuals, As the ſtuds of Spain do not produce a ſufficient number of mules, the deficiency is ſupplied by a leſſer ſpecies from ſome of the French provinces. The ſtuds of horſes which ſtill exiſt in Andaluſia, have been neglected, and there are but few, except thoſe of the king, and the grandees, with that his majeſty keeps at Aranjuez, which ſtill ſupport the ancient reputation of the breed of Spain.

Nature which has ſo liberally beſtowed on Spain all the neceſſaries and luxuries of life, and has ſcarcely refuſed that kingdom any of the enjoyments

ments that peace permits to be taſted, has been equally laviſh in beſtowing all the materials of which war compoſes the means of deſtruction; ſhe has given iron in abundance, copper, lead, and ſalt-petre, and we ſhall ſee that this country need not be indebted to any other to ſupply its artillery with theſe deſtructive treaſures.

It is only ſince 1710, that the Spaniſh artillery has taken its preſent form. At that period it was collected into one regiment, compoſed of five battalions, without including the cadets, who are brought up at Segovia. The colonel of the regiment is the commander general, who to the corps of artillery is what the inſpector is to the infantry, cavalry, dragoons, and militia. This place is at preſent held by the count de Lacy, a general officer, originally from Ireland, who had previouſly repreſented the Spaniſh monarch in ſeveral northern courts, where he was received with an attention and reſpect which he well merited. It was ſaid, on the occaſion

of

of his promotion, that after having been intruſted out of Spain to advance the political intereſts of his ſovereign, he was at length appointed to improve and urge *the laſt reaſoning of kings*; alluding, to the motto on ſome of theſe deſtructive engines, the laſt reſource of kings: *ultima ratio regum.*

His predeceſſor, the count of Gazola, recalled from Naples by Charles III. when he aſcended the throne of Spain, had begun to make improvements in the artillery, which had been neglected under Ferdinand VI. like ſeveral other branches of adminiſtration. The new monarch, wiſhing to introduce a reform into his arſenals, requeſted the count to ſend him a founder. Mr. Mariz was choſen by the miniſtry, and made ſeveral great alterations in the Spaniſh founderies.

He adopted the method of caſting the cannon ſolid, and boring them afterwards. Envy created him many difficulties, and ſome unſucceſsful efforts ſeemed

ſeemed to juſtify the malevolence with which he was received; for many of the cannon caſt in this new manner, were found defective. He was unpardonably culpable in caſting a great quantity of Mexicon copper, without firſt aſſuring himſelf that the metal was ſufficiently ſolid. Moſt of theſe cannon failed in the proof, and the clamour againſt him became general. His own courage, and the protection of the monarch, ſupported him under the ſtorm; and he continued to employ his beſt endeavours in the ſervice of a country to which he had been called, though he deſpaired of ever being uſeful to it. At length he quitted Spain, leaving behind him his method and his principles, with all the precautions and improvements he had been taught by experience. At preſent, even his enemies acknowledge that he has rendered real ſervices to the Spaniſh artillery.

The manner in which it was directed in the late war, particularly at the ſiege of Mahon, proved that this part at leaſt

of

of the military art is as well underſtood in Spain as elſewhere; and it cannot but be ſtill improved under the auſpices of ſo active and intelligent a commander, whoſe zeal is aſſiſted by ſeveral diſtinguiſhed officers which Spain neither owes to Ireland nor Italy. Every thing neceſſary for arſenal ſtores may be found in the Spaniſh dominions. Spain has ſeveral lead-mines, but they are not all in a proper ſtate to be worked. The principal one is that of Linarez, in the kingdom of Jaen. It produces much more than is ſold in Spain for the king's account; and without much effort this kingdom might export a thouſand tons per annum, though the other mines, in their preſent ſtate, produce no more than four hundred tons.

There are ſeveral copper mines alſo in Spain. That of Rio-Tinto is the moſt productive; it ſupplies a part of the artillery. But the copper of the Spaniſh Indies is alſo laid under contribution. That of Mexico and Peru is refined and manufactured in the two royal foun-

deries

deries of Barcelona and Seville. The cannon caſt there have two-thirds of Mexican copper to one of that of Peru.

Biſcay and the Pyrenees furniſh the iron neceſſary for the Spaniſh artillery. The cannon of this metal are caſt at Lierganes and Cavada. The caſt iron comes from the forges of Eugui and Muga. Fire-arms are made in the province of Guipuzcoa. Thoſe of Catalonia, forged at Placentia, and which, diſcredited in Spain, it is not known for what reaſon, were ſent to Spaniſh America on board Catalonian veſſels, have regained their reputation, and will in future make it unneceſſary for Spain to have recourſe to France to arm her troops. Laſtly, a manufacture of ſword-blades has recently been eſtabliſhed at Toledo, which promiſes to revive the ancient reputation of the blades of that city.

Spain is one of the richeſt countries in Europe in ſalt-petre. La Mancha and Arragon had the reputation of furniſhing this article of an excellent quality.

A French

A French company had undertaken the preparation of it, and for this purpoſe ſent M. Salvador Dampierre to Spain. This agent, although he wanted not talents, failed in his undertaking. He had made, on a piece of ground near Madrid, ſome unſucceſsful experiments, by which government wiſely profited, proving that if its zeal for the public good frequently cauſes it to have recourſe to foreign aid, it does not always ſtand in need of it to improve what has been ſketched out. The ground in queſtion is found to contain ſalt-petre of a quality ſuperior to that of La Mancha and Arragon; in conſequence of which a manufacture was begun there in 1779, which was intruſted to the management of Don Roſendo Parayuelo, one of the commiſſioners general of rents. At this time it is one of the moſt intereſting eſtabliſhments of the capital. Within two years it employed four thouſand men to carry earth, and boil and purify the ſalt-petre; which after two boilings is fit for making powder. The firſt boiling requires eight or ten days, but a few hours

hours are ſufficient for the ſecond. Water is conveyed in abundance to this manufacture by ſubterraneous pipes. Wood has never been wanting ſince the director has given this opening to that which the inhabitants of the hills of Guadarrama did not before even give themſelves the trouble of cutting.

The earth which produces the ſaltpetre recovers itſelf with ſurpriſing promptitude. The *caput mortuum* is brought to the environs of the manufacture; and ſometimes in leſs than a month the influence of the air, impregnated with nitre, renders it fit for a ſecond operation. It has been remarked, that after the wind has blown from a certain point, the neighbouring ſoil becomes whitened, as if ſnow had fallen upon it. The frequent removing of the earth laid in heaps about the gates of Madrid, gives to that ſide of the city an appearance of negligence and aridity diſagreeable to the eye: but, in this caſe, the agreeable is very properly ſacrificed to the uſeful.

The

The ſalt-petre is ſent to the powder-mills in the kingdoms of Valencia, Murcia, and Granada, the employment of which has been conſiderably increaſed ſince the eſtabliſhment of the manufacture at Madrid. The proprietors engaged annually to furniſh government with eleven thouſand quintals of its produce. During the war they exceeded their engagement, and the director flattered himſelf, in 1784, that he ſhould ſoon furniſh thirty thouſand quintals a year. The manufacture, however, could not ſupply the enormous conſumption of powder at the camp of St. Roch: and although thirty thouſand quintals were ſent thither when the attack was to be made on Gibraltar, it was thought neceſſary to haſten the arrival of more from Genoa, France, and Holland. But if the manufacture of Madrid continues to proſper, it will not only ſupply the wants of Spain, but will render gunpowder a conſiderable article of exportation, provided it receives no ſuch checks as that of the floating batteries, which alone, with one hundred

and ninety-two cannon, consumed eighteen thousand quintals.

Hitherto the quality of this new powder is inconteſtibly good; it carries twice as far as common powder; for which reaſon the king of Spain, and the infants, make uſe of no other in ſhooting; and the king of Naples receives a ſmall quantity of it by his couriers, who every week ſet off from Madrid.

Spaniſh America will ſoon be independant of the mother country, with reſpect to this precious yet pernicious commodity, which alternately ſerves for the pleaſures and deſtruction of mankind. The preſent miniſter of the Indies has ordered three manufactures of ſalt-petre to be eſtabliſhed there, at Lima, Mexico, and Santa Fé de Bogota. He expects great ſucceſs from the latter, which, if the event anſwers his hopes, will ſoon furniſh a hundred thouſand quintals of powder per annum. He has ſent to America, for the improvement of theſe manufactures, the ſame Salvador Dam-

Dampierre who failed in his attempts in Europe. The fidelity of the Spaniſh colonies, and the importance of them to the parent country merited that theſe means of defence ſhould be more within their reach. May the genius of Spain prevent their attempting a leſs innocent uſe of them.

The corps of engineers is ſeparated, as in France, from the artillery; it was not eſtabliſhed before the year 1711. It conſiſts of ten directors, ten colonels, twenty lieutenant-colonels, thirty captains, forty lieutenants, and forty ſecond lieutenants; in all, one hundred and fifty officers. The care of the fortifications is not ſufficient to employ even this ſmall number of perſons, and they are indifferently employed in military operations, and in thoſe which in France excluſively belong to the engineers of bridges and cauſeways. There is one commander for each of theſe works; and he who preſides over the works of civil architecture and hydrau-

lics, nevertheleſs retains his rank in the army, although he cannot properly be conſidered as a military man. The perſon who at preſent holds the place has the rank of field-marſhal. The other has, under his direction, the three academies eſtabliſhed at Barcelona, Oran, and Ceuta, for the inſtruction of engineers, and thoſe who aſpire to that profeſſion. Before I conclude what I have to obſerve concerning the Spaniſh army, I ſhall ſpeak of the marks of diſtinction, and rewards, conferred upon the officers.

The general officers, have, as I have already obſerved, an uniform very much reſembling that of a French general. The colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and majors, wear no epaulettes. The former have three narrow gold or ſilver laces upon the cuff, the lieutenant-colonels two, and the majors only one. The captains wear two epaulettes; the lieutenants, one upon the right ſhoulder; the ſecond lieutenants, one upon the left. All officers who are not at leaſt field-marſhals are obliged continually

nually to wear their uniform even when they appear at court.

According to ſome late regulations, no perſon can become an officer without having been a cadet. The military ſchool, firſt eſtabliſhed at Avila, and not long ſince removed to Port Saint Mary, is not ſo much intended to inſtruct ſtudents in the firſt elements of tactics, as to cultivate the diſpoſitions of officers, whatever may be their age, who have the noble emulation of diſtinguiſhing themſelves in the military profeſſion, in which well-directed ſtudies, though they cannot ſupply the want of, may in ſome meaſure anticipate, experience. Nothing is omitted in this academy which may conduce to that end; and it is, perhaps, the only inſtitution of the kind in Europe. I ſpeak in favour of it with the more pleaſure, as its founder is no longer ſenſible of panegyric or adulation.

The kings of Spain have no more forgotten the declining years of their mili-

military men than their youth. There is a corps of invalids in Spain, as well for officers as ſoldiers; but the forty-ſix companies, of which it is compoſed, are diſtributed at Madrid, and in the provinces, where they perform an eaſy duty. Thoſe incapable of all ſervice form another corps of twenty-ſix companies, divided between Seville, Valencia, Lugo, and Toro. Both theſe corps are under the inſpector of the infantry.

In Spain there is no order of knighthood particularly deſtined to the reward of officers. The preſent ſovereign has, however, impoſed on himſelf a law to confer on none but theſe the four military orders; yet, without excluding them from that he has himſelf founded. But theſe favours abſolutely depend upon his pleaſure, and not upon the length of ſervice. There are beſides other means of rewarding the old ſervants of the crown; the king beſtows on them penſions or employments analogous to their profeſſion; his beneficence alſo extends to their widows.

In

In 1761, he eſtabliſhed a fund from which they receive penſions according to the rank of their huſbands. Eighteen thouſand reals a year are paid to thoſe of captains-general, twelve thouſand to thoſe of lieutenants-general, and in proportion to the widows of petty officers. This fund, conſiſts of a grant of ſix thouſand doblons, about ninety thouſand livres (3750l.) anterior to its eſtabliſhment; a contribution of twenty per cent. upon what the king receives from the ſpoils of biſhops, and from the revenues of vacant biſhopricks; a deduction of eight maravedis for each crown upon all the penſions enjoyed by the ſubjects of the king; half of the firſt year's pay of all the officers of the army; another deduction of eight maravedis from each crown of their pay; and all the property of officers dying without heirs, or inteſtate: a truly valuable and beneficial inſtitution, which by inſuring a ſubſiſtence to the widows of officers, without their ſtanding in need of protection to enforce their claims, has greatly encouraged military men to marry,

marry, and has had an influence, even in this reſpect, upon the other claſſes of ſociety.

The place of commandant-general of a province is an opening to general officers, but obliges them to almoſt a perpetual reſidence; for in Spain, biſhops, intendants, governors and commanders reſide where they are employed, although the reſidence of the ſovereign and that of the capital have the ſame temptations for ambition and diſſipation as in other countries.

All the commandants of provinces bear the title of *captain-general*, which however muſt not be confounded with that of the firſt military rank. They commonly receive, but from an abuſe, the title of vice-roy alſo, which properly belongs to none but the commandant of Navarre, and thoſe of the principal provinces of Spaniſh America.

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